

ATTIC PUBLIC CONSTRUCTION: WHO WERE THE BUILDERS?

Abstract: Metics are overrepresented in the Attic building accounts. It is argued that the real percentage of citizen builders was probably even lower. The author argues that the predominance of metics among the free Attic builders resulted from the occasional nature of Athenian large-scale construction activity. In particular, he suggests that a significant proportion of these metics were relatively short-term visitors, attracted by the prospect of earning money in Athens. Accordingly, the proportion of citizen handicraftsmen attested in the Attic building inscriptions may not be representative of their role in Athenian crafts as a whole, including private building.

The building accounts of the Erechtheion, and, to a lesser degree, of the works in Eleusis in the last third of the fourth century BCE allow a glimpse into the social composition of the workforce of Attic public construction. It is well known that among the Erechtheion workmen of attested status, Athenian citizens were underrepresented while metics were disproportionately numerous¹. Of the 85 builders whose civic status is recorded, 23 were citizens, 40 metics, and 19 slaves². In fact, the

¹ The accounts of the Erechtheion: *IG I³* 474-479, esp. 475-476; the Eleusinian accounts: *IG II/III²* 1672 and 1673. See now K. CLINTON, *Eleusis, the Inscriptions on Stone: Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme*, Athens 2005, Nos. 159, 177. For the Erechtheion workforce generally, see R.H. RANDALL, *The Erechtheum Workmen*, *AJA* 57 (1953), p. 199-210; V.D. KUZNETSOV, *Organization of Public Construction Works in Ancient Greece* (in Russian), Moscow 2000, p. 46-55, 441; Ch. FEYEL, *Les artisans dans les sanctuaires grecs aux époques classique et hellénistique: à travers la documentation financière en Grèce* (*BEFAR* 318), Athens 2006, p. 31-57. For the social composition of the body of the builders, see R.H. RANDALL, *ibid.*, p. 201; V.D. KUZNETSOV, *ibid.*, p. 53-54, 57, 441 (Erechtheion) and p. 76-77, 82-83, 91-92, 97-98, 101 (Eleusis); Ch. FEYEL, *ibid.*, p. 320-328, with bibliography. The book of Kuznetsov is not used (and thus not made obsolete) by Feyel, though the French scholar uses an earlier work of Kuznetsov: see below, n. 3. Besides, the subjects of these two books are not exactly the same. My thanks to Prof. D. Schaps of Bar-Ilan University for his helpful comments. I am, of course, responsible for any remaining mistakes. This research was supported by the Israel Science Foundation (Grant No. 1191/04).

² V.D. KUZNETSOV, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 54, 441-443. See also Sh. EPSTEIN, *Organizing Public Construction in Ancient Greece*, *SCI* 27 (2008), p. 95-111, at p. 97 with n. 7 for discussion of Kuznetsov's numbers. Cf. his *Towards a Problem of Slave Labour in Athenian Public Construction*, *VDI* 4 (2009), p. 42-62 (in Russian). Ch. FEYEL, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 31-57, 322, arrives at somewhat different figures from both Kuznetsov's and mine, mainly on account of inclusion of the workmen registered in *IG II/III²* 1654. However, this was, strictly speaking, another project, accomplished under different conditions: see below, n. 40. The proportion of metics among the Erechtheion workmen is even higher if the builders recorded in 395/4 are to be counted. In addition, several craftsmen may have more than one number in Feyel's prosopography (e.g. ÉR 97-98, 113-115).

real percentage of citizens was, in all probability, even lower, since the designation of official status (the deme or the owner's name) is frequently omitted, but only from the names of metics and slaves, as far as can be inferred from the cases where the same man with identifiable status is mentioned more than once³. In other words, at least 16 unattested workmen were probably non-citizens, and at least the slave-owners among them, were, accordingly, metics⁴. Furthermore, if we compare some artisans' earnings when working in a group (whereby every craftsman was recorded) and alone, we get an impression that they probably had unmentioned assistants — in all likelihood non-citizens⁵.

While a concentration in *technai* of the metics, excluded from landownership, should come as no surprise⁶, the probably inverse citizens/metics ratio in comparison to the supposed demographic situation⁷ suggests some

³ V.D. KUZNETSOV, *The Builders of the Erechtheion*, VDI 4 (1990), p. 31-32 (in Russian).

⁴ 'At least' 16: Raidios, a metic, had at least two assistants (συνέρργοι). In *IG* I³ 475.57 they are mentioned in plural, not in dual. See G.Ph. STEVENS – L.D. CASKEY *et al.*, *The Erechtheum: Measured, Drawn and Restored*, ed. by J.M. Paton, Cambridge (Mass.) 1927, p. 354-356. Only one assistant is mentioned in Ch. FEYEL, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 46 (under ÉR 63) without an entry number of his own. These unnamed assistants of a metic, whether slaves or free, were surely non-citizens. There are two carpenters called Mikion, metics from two different demes (*IG* I³ 475.246-247, 259-260, 263-265), and there is a carpenter with no deme indicated (475.70-71, 255, 376). He may be (at least one) additional worker, not identical with either one of the first two. The same for Kroisos: we have a metic labourer and a slave carpenter, and a person with no status given (475.65-67, 231-233, 255-256; 476.12-13, 22-23, 119-123). Ch. Feyel, while counting three possible Mikions, has no place for the third possible Kroisos (*ibid.*, p. 41, 44).

⁵ See Sh. EPSTEIN, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 105.

⁶ See D. WHITEHEAD, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic*, Cambridge 1977, p. 115-116. However, some metics were *georgoi* renting farm land: II² 10; 1553-1578; Lys. 7.10. And, of course, there were traders and unskilled labourers.

⁷ For the fourth century, we have 2,110 tombstones commemorating citizens compared with 650 tombstones set over metics: M.H. HANSEN, *Studies in the Population of Aigina, Athens and Eretria*, Copenhagen 2006, p. 21-22. There are proportionately more women among the metics, so the percentage of male metics among free males is ca. $390/1761 * 100\% = 22\%$, but it was surely higher taking into account the short-term visitors: M.H. HANSEN, *Three Studies in Athenian Demography, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser* 56 (1988), p. 11; cf. below, n. 39. These data may be biased in favour of citizens, who are more likely to have erected funerary monuments; on the other hand, there were more excavations in the urban districts, where more metics lived. Since metics are denoted by their *ethnika*, we cannot distinguish them from non-resident foreigners, but what were their chances of having a tombstone in Attica? In any case, the status of very many of the buried is unknown (P.M. FRASER, *Citizens, Demesmen and Metics in Athens and Elsewhere*, in: M.H. HANSEN [ed.], *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State*. Symposium, August 24-27, 1994, Copenhagen 1995, p. 667), and the practice of commemorating one's

extraordinary factors. Randall explains the small proportion of citizen craftsmen by the catastrophic results of the Syracusan campaign, but several historians remind us that the war affected not only citizens: some metics and even slaves served in the army, while others left Athens voluntarily⁸. In fact, it seems that, in general, the slaves neither fought nor built without their masters⁹, so those who, instead of going to the war with their owner, were left at home would probably not appear in our accounts. Still, it is theoretically possible that there were fewer slave owners among those citizen handicraftsmen who did not build because they fought, than among the free builders working at the Erechtheion, in which case we could expect a higher percentage of citizen builders but for the war. As for the free builders — our main concern here — it seems that only in exceptional cases were the oarsmen and *psiloi* drafted compulsorily (e.g., in 406 BCE, before Arginusae — Xen., *Hell.* I 6.24, which is later than the period

status may not have been spread evenly among various categories. The ratio of metics seems higher according to Demetrios of Phaleron's *exetasmós* (Ath. 272C), but see M.H. HANSEN, *Demography and Democracy*, Herning 1986, p. 31-32; D. WHITEHEAD, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 97. Hansen's overall estimates of the size of the metic population in the fourth century (*Studies in the Population*, p. 55 n. 126 and p. 56 n. 137): «some 30,000 metics» (of all ages and both sexes) versus ca. 108,000 citizens. The period of the Erechtheion records was probably the time when the ratio between resident aliens and citizens was close to its lowest level, perhaps no more than 1:4, with the citizen population somewhat larger than in Demetrios' time (n. 53 below), and fewer metics due to the difficult times.

⁸ R.H. RANDALL, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 203. Contra: V.D. KUZNETSOV, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 54-55; V.D. KUZNETSOV, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 38-39; A.J. GRAHAM, *Thucydides 7.13.2 and the Crews of Athenian Triremes*, *TAPhA* 122 (1992), p. 257-270, esp. 262-263 with n. 18. For slaves and metics in the Athenian fleet see also V. GABRIELSEN, *Socio-Economic Classes and Ancient Greek Warfare*, in: K. ASCANI (ed.), *Ancient History Matters. Studies presented to Jens Erik Skydsgaard on his Seventieth Birthday*, Rome 2002, p. 203-220, at p. 208-211, with further bibliography. Cf. reservations of Ch. FEYEL, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 321 (where Randall's page should be 203 instead of 199: *ibid.*, n. 11). Other explanations of the prevalence of metic builders are mentioned and partially rejected in Ch. FEYEL, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 327-328. As for the hypothesis of G. GLOTZ, *Le travail dans la Grèce ancienne: Histoire économique de la Grèce depuis la période homérique jusqu'à la conquête romaine*, Paris 1920, p. 208, explaining the low ratio of citizens among the Erechtheion builders by political payments, it should be noted that these payments, even if they existed in 409-407 BCE, could not have been available to every poor citizen every day, and in any case were, even in the fourth century, lower than the salary of an unskilled worker at the Erechtheion: see, e.g., W.T. LOOMIS, *Wages, Welfare Costs and Inflation in Classical Athens*, Ann Arbor 1998, p. 15-16, 26-27, 105-108.

⁹ Slave rowers serving without their masters as exceptional phenomenon: A.J. GRAHAM, *art. cit.* (n. 8), p. 268-269; *id.*, *Thucydides 7.13.2 and the Crews of Athenian Triremes: An Addendum*, *TAPhA* 128 (1998), p. 89-114, at p. 108-109. At the Erechtheion almost all slave workmen attested to belonged to a craftsman involved in the building project: below, n. 31-32.

reflected in our two main inscriptions)¹⁰. The probable result would be that, as a rule, skilled oarsmen rowed the Athenian men-of-war, while skilled artisans built the Athenian temples¹¹. Of course, all able-bodied free inhabitants of military age might be called up for military service during the war, and those left in Attica probably guarded the walls, in turn¹², without actually being prevented from involvement in the building project. But some of our craftsmen must have been liable to hoplite service¹³. These were certainly drafted, including metics (Th. II 13.7), and it seems that during the Dekeleian war, before Arginusae, their only chance of long-term compulsory service far from the construction site was to be mobilized as marines or other hoplites on board a trireme¹⁴. The number

¹⁰ This is why Thucydides does not know the losses of τοῦ ἄλλου ὄχλου (i.e. besides the hoplites in the ranks and cavalrymen) in the plague of 430-426: III 87.3. The same for marines unless they are ἐκ καταλόγου: Th. VI 43.1. cf. V. GABRIELSEN, *art. cit.* (n. 8), p. 204-207.

¹¹ The Athenians were proud of their art of naval warfare, which was acknowledged by other Greeks, too: see, e.g., Aesch., *Pers.* 373-381, 728; Soph., *OC* 707-719; Th. I 93.3, 142.5-9, 143.1; II 88.2; VII 13.3, 63.4; VIII 45.2; [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 1.19; Ar., *Ach.* 162-163, 677; *Eq.* 567, 781-785, 1065-1066, 1350-1353; And. 3.5, 7, 9, 37, 39; Xen., *Mem.* III 5.18-19, 21; *Hell.* VII 1.4. That the slave naval personnel consisted usually of competent oarsmen, too, is confirmed by, besides the old Oligarch just cited, Thucydides — otherwise we cannot explain the damage caused by acceptance of the slaves from Hykkara instead of the foreign mercenaries: Th. VII 13.2. See K.-W. WELWEI, *Unfreie im antiken Kriegsdienst*, I: *Athen und Sparta*, in: J. VOGT – H.U. INSTINSKY (eds.), *Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei*, Vol. V, Wiesbaden 1974, p. 94-95. The high level of the Athenian builders is, of course, attested by the remains of their work. In the extant accounts of the Erechtheion only metics are attested as labourers, and (part of) these few men may be skilled, too — the evidence of their more skilled jobs may simply be lost. R.H. RANDALL, *art. cit.* (n. 1), believed that one citizen worked as an unskilled laborer at the Erechtheion (p. 201, 203, 205; cf. 208), but V.D. KUZNETSOV, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 61, notes that this citizen, Kteson of Lakiadai, laid tiles and is called τέκτων. Cf. Ch. FEYEL, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 41. Of course, more unskilled work was required at the previous stages of the construction: R.H. RANDALL, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 202. Even so, the work of skilled sailors, especially Athenian citizens, as labourers at the building site, does not seem very probable even in peacetime. See below, n. 52.

¹² Th. II 13.6-7, with M.H. HANSEN, *The Number of Athenian Hoplites in 431 B.C.*, *SO* 56 (1981), p. 19-32, at p. 23. Compare the service which Cleophon was supposed to perform: Lys. 13.12.

¹³ For example, the owners of two or more skilled slaves, or Archilochos the architect (*IG* 1³ 476.2-4, 60-61, 266-268), though his slaves are unattested at the Erechtheion, unlike two slaves of his predecessor Philokles: 474.2-3; 475.65-69, 231-233, 253-256, 287-290.

¹⁴ The marines may be drafted more frequently than the rowers: Th. VII 16.1; VII 20.2; VIII 24.2; *IG* 1³ 60.9-17. Thucydides explicitly says that κατάλογοι were used, and, in VII 20.2 and VIII 24.2, only hoplites were thus drafted. Cf. Lys. 6.46 and above, n. 10.

of those thus drafted was limited, but here the proportion of citizens was probably higher: at least the marines were of citizen status. And, of course, some handicraftsmen might volunteer out of patriotism — mostly citizens, presumably. In any event, the military involvement of metics and slaves is of little relevance here: it is the number of citizens which was limited, whereas metics and, to an extent, slaves could be imported from abroad, even for an *ad hoc* purpose, as we shall see.

While it turns out that our data may, after all, be somewhat influenced by the war conditions, later Athenian inscriptions appear to undermine Randall's argument about the decisive impact of the war on the proportion of citizens involved. The Eleusinian accounts, from a remarkably peaceful period, mention an even lower percentage of citizens in comparison with that at the Erechtheion¹⁵.

In this paper I argue that the predominance of metics among the free Attic builders was a result of the occasional nature of Athenian large-scale construction activity. In particular, I suggest that a significant proportion of these metics were relatively short-term visitors, attracted by the prospect of earning money in Athens¹⁶. Accordingly, the proportion of citizen handicraftsmen attested in the Attic building inscriptions may not be representative of their role in Athenian crafts as a whole, including private building¹⁷.

It is reasonable to assume that the number of Athenian craftsmen more or less suited the local needs, which usually did not include major public construction. Even in Athens, which was exceptional in the scale of her public building activity, this activity was very unevenly distributed in time. In particular, building work that was not related to the war was probably stopped at least from 413 to 409 BCE¹⁸. And although fortifications

¹⁵ See Sh. EPSTEIN, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 98, with bibliography.

¹⁶ This was suggested already by R.H. RANDALL, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 203, who, however, did not connect his hypothesis to the high proportion of metics among the builders. As we have seen, the American scholar explained the latter phenomenon by the war (above, n. 8). The possibility that our metic builders were journeymen workers is mostly ignored in later research, as we shall see.

¹⁷ Of course, even the attested proportion of citizen craftsmen would be enough to disprove Hasebroek's identification of βάνανσοι and μέτοικοι: J. HASEBROEK, *Staat und Handel im alten Griechenland. Untersuchungen zur antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim 1966 (reprint of 1928 ed.), p. 22-44; *Griechische Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte bis zur Perserzeit*, Hildesheim 1966 (reprint of Tübingen 1931 ed.), p. 265-271. See also D. WHITEHEAD, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 117, with bibliography.

¹⁸ J. SALMON, *Temples the Measures of Men. Public Building in the Greek Economy*, in: D.J. MATTINGLY – J. SALMON (eds.), *Economies beyond Agriculture in the Classical*

were still strengthened and repaired¹⁹, this work was surely continued when the building of the Erechtheion was renewed in 409/8 BCE. In the years of low public construction activity the potential temple builders either moved to other places or (more likely) worked in another sphere, such as private building, grave monuments, shipbuilding, etc.²⁰. And these niches, of course, continued to absorb workforce at the time of major building efforts. Accordingly, large-scale construction projects required additional manpower.

How many extra workers were needed? Of course, we can provide only very rough estimates. Comparing the sums paid for various parts of the Epidaurian temple of Asklepius with rock surfaces in known public buildings, Salmon calculates that the stonework performed in 425-405 BCE required an average of about 300 man-years per annum, assuming a work-year of 250 days²¹. These numbers do not include fortifications outside Attica (and perhaps part of the defences erected in Attica) and very intensive shipbuilding — two spheres which employ many carpenters

World, London 2001, p. 195-208, at 1989; Ph.H. DAVIES, *In the Workshop of the Erechtheion*, *AJA* 52 (1948), p. 485.

¹⁹ And sometimes even erected and destroyed, as in the case of Eetioneia: Th. VIII 90.1-93.1.

²⁰ Cf. Xen., *Cyr.* VIII 2.5 for possible occupations of a carpenter. For probabilities of these craftsmen changing their place of dwelling or sphere of activity see (with differing emphases) A. BURFORD, *The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros. A Social and Economic Study of Building in the Asklepien Sanctuary, during the Fourth and early Third Centuries B.C.*, Liverpool 1969, p. 34, 112-113, 201-205; cf. her *The Economics of Greek Temple Building*, *PCPhS* 191 (1965), p. 21-34, at p. 30-32; EAD., *Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society*, Ithaca 1972, p. 62; R. MARTIN, *Aspects financiers et sociaux des programmes de construction dans les villes grecques de la Grande Grèce et de Sicile*, in: S. CECCOLI (ed.), *Economia e società nella Magna Grecia*. Atti del XII Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Napoli 1973, p. 197-198; V.D. KUZNETSOV, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 169-171, 175. Cf. Ch. FEYEL, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 269-394. In any event, it would be difficult to find a job for these specialized temple builders during the Peloponnesian war, with minimal building activity outside Athens. It would be especially problematic for Athenian citizens and those metics who were rooted in Athens and could be mistaken for Athenians: Th. VII 63.3-4. Only these two categories are relevant for our purposes.

²¹ J. SALMON, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 204-205. In contrast to Salmon's figures, my estimates do not concern only stonemasons. Of course, «... masonry... always constituted the great majority of the work»: J. SALMON, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 204. Among the builders of the Erechtheion, we see 46 masons and 32 carpenters, including woodcutters, sawyers, wax modelers and those who laid tiles (V.D. KUZNETSOV, *op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 47-48; cf. Ch. FEYEL, *op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 322 with somewhat different classification of professions), but this is surely reflective of the late stage of the work. See also J.G. YOUNGER, *The Parthenon as Public Works Project*, *AJA* 97 (1993), p. 309, who arrives at a figure of 600 workers each day over 16 years.

and masons²². Moreover, while the completion of the Erechtheion required little unskilled work and almost no transport, the proportion of specialists among the builders was now much higher than the average for construction²³. The actual number of artisans needed was, of course, higher than the number of man-years since there were craftsmen whose work was essential for the construction, but lasted only one or two prytanies²⁴. Thus, in 409-405 BCE, several hundred additional skilled craftsmen were needed each year, beyond the usual number. Even allowing for some underemployment in previous years, it seems reasonable to suppose that not all of these workers were available on the local market. Admittedly, it was a much lower number than those needed for the Periclean building programme, when the Propylaea was not started until the masons tied up on the Parthenon construction had become available²⁵. But then the Athenian population had dwindled drastically since that time. We might expect that the concentration of citizens in the city during the Dekeleian war would alleviate the problem, thereby raising the ratio of citizen builders, since most metics had probably lived in the urban districts from the start. While this contention can be neither proved nor refuted, I would argue for this factor's limited impact on the provenance of our workmen. As we have seen, the citizens were not quick to take the opportunity to perform labourers' tasks²⁶. As for the skilled craftsmen, numerous cases are known of peasants building (frequently with their neighbours' assistance) their own houses or performing other carpenter's work (cf. the use of τέκτων for builder: see, e. g., *IG II/III*² 1672.26-28). It is much less plausible that

²² Defences: J. SALMON, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 199. Shipbuilding: see, e. g., *l*³ 117, esp. lines 5-20: the shipwrights refusing to go to Macedon to build ships there are to be brought before the courts. The inscription is from 407 BCE.

²³ As we have seen above, n. 11.

²⁴ E.g. Neseus; a wax modeller and a woodcarver: *IG I*³ 476.258-261, 328-329; Adonis, a seller (?) of gold for floral ornaments: 476.292-296, 299-303, 347-354 (?); Agathanor, a wax modeller and sculptor: 476.154-157, 262-265, 371-372; As---- living in Kydathenaion, a woodworker: 475.234-235; Dionysodoros, a contractor, dealing with painting: 476.46-54, 270-280. Probably one man could make all the rosettes made by nine woodcarvers in 476.327-341, but then the coffered ceiling would not be ready in time. Cf. Agorandros (Ch. FEYEL, *op. cit.* [n. 1], *ÉR* 2 and p. 335).

²⁵ W.B. DINSMOOR, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece. An Account of its Historic Development*, New York 1985, p. 199; R. CARPENTER, *The Architects of the Parthenon*, Harmondsworth 1970, p. 39-68; R.E. WYCHERLEY, *Rebuilding in Athens and Attica*, in: J. BOARDMAN (ed.), *The Cambridge Ancient History V. The Fifth Century B.C.*, Cambridge 1982, p. 206-222, at p. 217.

²⁶ Above, n. 11.

a peasant became a skilled stonemason. But certainly there were specialized craftsmen outside the city walls who now had more opportunities to work on the Acropolis. In principle, it is possible that Timomachos and Theodotos of Acharnai and Tlesias of Kettos, citizen carpenters, were refugees from their respective demes²⁷, though a citizen did not have to dwell in his inherited deme, and, moreover, these demes were not far from the city, so their inhabitants could work on the Acropolis even without having been evacuated. We may also note three or four masons and a sculptor from Paiania, Erchia and Kephisia, places from which no metic is attested in the Erechtheion inscriptions, and very few in other sources²⁸. All in all, there are remarkably few craftsmen from remote demes, and they hadn't necessarily lived there even before the war²⁹. Since, in post-Kleisthenic times, migration from urban to rural districts seems much less

²⁷ I³ 475.231-232, 245-246. Theodotos seems to be too skillful for a peasant: as a woodcarver, he makes rosettes: 476.340-341. As R.H. RANDALL, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 206, reminds us, «... the Acharnians were noted for trades dealing with wood».

²⁸ See I³ 475.28-43, 49-50, 110-113; 476.76-77, 79-81, 144-147, 159-161, 167-169, 175-178, 225, 228-229, 308, 311-312, 419-420. The difference between citizens and metics is that the latter probably had to dwell in their demes of registration (Ch. FEYEL, *op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 344, 346; perhaps in a house provided by their *prostotes*: see G. THÜR, *Wo wohnen die Metöken?*, in W. SCHULLER – W. HOEPFNER – E.L. SCHWANDNER [eds.], *Demokratie und Architektur: der hippodamische Städtebau und die Entstehung der Demokratie*, Konstanzer Symposion vom 17. bis 19. Juli 1987, München 1989, p. 117-121) and, besides, they would not be registered in a deme far outside the walls during the Dekeleian war (there are metics from Alopeke and Agryle, very close to the Long Walls, among the builders: see Ch. FEYEL, *op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 31, 36, 44, 46-50, 54, 345). For the distribution of metics in Attica see D. WHITEHEAD, *The Demes of Attica, 508/7 – ca. 250 B.C. A Political and Social Study*, Princeton 1986, p. 83-84.

²⁹ Cf. R.H. RANDALL, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 205-206; Ch. FEYEL, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 342-343, where no influence of the war evacuation is suggested. In fact, this evacuation may even decrease the statistics of builders from rural districts, by preventing metics — the majority of the construction workers — from living (far) outside the walls of Attica. At least, this was so for those foreign residents who arrived in Athens after the evacuation had begun. We do not know the procedure for (re)registering metics in case dwelling in their original demes of registration became impossible or dangerous. Cf. D. WHITEHEAD, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 74-76. On the other hand, we are ignorant of when the registration system was created: see below, n. 36. In any event, the complete absence of metics (as opposed to citizens, far less numerous in our accounts) from far outside the city walls is hardly accidental. Cf. the previous note. We might expect, for example, to find craftsmen from the Pentele region. Contrast IG II/III² 1673.37, where a metic smith from Pentele sharpens tools for quarrying. Cf. τεγχιστής manumitted in Sphettos at the end of the fourth century BCE: SEG XVIII 36 (= D.M. LEWIS, *Attic Manumissions*, *Hesperia* 28/3 [1959], p. 208-238), face B III, line 344. On the other hand, the builders living near the Acropolis probably had more opportunities to be involved in the construction there, even in peacetime: cf. Ch. FEYEL, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 346.

probable than urbanization³⁰, it appears that virtually all our citizen builders were rooted city dwellers.

If the additional workforce was not largely supplied by migrating citizens, it had to be imported. In principle, it was possible to import slaves, but it seems that, as a rule, this path was not taken. At the Erechtheion almost all slave owners were somehow involved in the building project, usually as artisans, and, as far as we know, all the slaves follow their masters' trades³¹. Moreover, while a slave didn't necessarily work near his master (in any case, this would have been impossible for the architect's slaves), the slaves are usually unattested as working in the years when their owners are unattested³². Most probably, these slaves, who were frequently highly proficient³³, were bought as unskilled, cheap labour (or were bred), and then trained by their masters during the course of their work³⁴, usually unconnected with public construction. In other words, they were acquired before (sometimes long before) the building of the Erechtheion was resumed, and they were probably not sold when the temple was completed. It would be inexpedient to buy and teach a slave (let alone several slaves) only for a short, one-off project. As for the possibility of buying specialists — exactly when they were needed and in sufficient numbers — it was probably limited, and in any case, seems not to have been availed of. Otherwise, we would find the trade and time of

³⁰ See A. DAMSGAARD-MADSEN, *Attic Funeral Inscriptions. Their Use as Historical Sources and Some Preliminary Results*, in: A. DAMSGAARD-MADSEN – E. CHRISTIANSEN – E. HALLAGER (eds.), *Studies in Ancient History and Numismatics presented to Rudi Thomsen*, Aarhus 1988, p. 55-68, with further bibliography.

³¹ Cf. R.H. RANDALL, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 203-204; V.D. KUZNETSOV, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 443, 448-452; Sh. EPSTEIN, *Why Did Attic Building Projects Employ Free Laborers rather than Slaves?*, *ZPE* 166 (2008), p. 108-112, at n. 3-4. For Λυσίαι Ἀλκίππο Κεφίς (475.110-113), whose status is uncertain, cf.]τέλης Δημοφάνους Εἰτεαῖος and Λυσίας Δημοφάνους Εἰ[τεαῖος,]11....]οφάνους Ἀθμονεύς: 1671.74, 77-78; 1673.28.

³² Most workmen are attested in only one of the two more or less documented years. Cf. Ch. FEYEL, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 333. Thus, when Philokles ceased to be an architect, in 408/7 BCE, his slaves are no longer attested. Two slaves of Axiopitheas (475.97-107) are exceptional: they work with another metic (476.22, 88-99, 201-203, 237-240 and 319-320). For three other possible exceptional cases see Sh. EPSTEIN, *art. cit.* (n. 31), n. 3-4. Slave owners are frequently mentioned as working without their slaves, but this does not necessarily prove that the slaves were really absent: above, n. 5.

³³ Cf. M.I. FINLEY, *The Ancient Economy*, Berkeley 1985, p. 82: «No one can distinguish, in the ruins of the Erechtheum, which mouldings were carved by Simias, which by his five slaves».

³⁴ Cf. R.H. RANDALL, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 204; Sh. EPSTEIN, *art. cit.* (n. 31), p. 109.

work of the attested slaves much less closely connected with the trade and time of work of their masters. When skilled slaves were regarded as a means of investment — for production, hiring out or extracting *apophora* — their profession corresponded to fields with more or less stable demand, and their masters were typically not artisans³⁵. So, the same factor, which kept the usual number of Athenian handicraftsmen on the level below that required for a major public construction project, prevented the mass import of slaves for short-term use. As suggested above, this factor may be identified as the casual nature of such projects.

Thus, the Athenians were left with the option of resorting to foreign artisans, who, after a very limited period of dwelling in Attica, had to register themselves as metics³⁶. This invitation of foreigners did not have to be official, as for foreign contractors in Epidaurus and Delphi³⁷. Perhaps, some foreign craftsmen (sometimes with their slaves) were simply ready to take advantage of the opportunity when the news of the temple building spread. And, of course, not all of these newcomers necessarily worked on the temple building: some probably filled the niches freed by artisans already settled in Athens, citizens or metics. It would not be worthwhile to go abroad for a very short task. So, those metics who worked during a prytany or two did not go to Athens exclusively for the Erechtheion building³⁸. In any event, if I am correct, in these years there was an unusually high number of metics among Athenian masons, carpenters, sawyers, woodcutters and sculptors; and among these metics there was an unusually high number of newcomers. It is probably this situation that is reflected in the extant Erechtheion accounts. When the building was over, the polis did not have to deal with a problem of

³⁵ E.g. Dem. 27.20; 28.12; 36.4; Aesch. 1.97. We do not know the use of ἀνδράποδα μισθοφοροῦντα of Is. 8.35, but their owner did not work with them, as the Erechtheion slave-owning builders did.

³⁶ See D. WHITEHEAD, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 7-10, 14-16, 152. Though he suggests this may have been otherwise for the fifth century (cf. P. GAUTHIER, *Symbola. Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques*, Nancy 1972, p. 111-118), his fourth century begins (at least) in 414/3 BCE; *ibid.*, p. 152. Since our accounts were composed retroactively, it is not surprising that we do not find there any foreigner denoted by his *ethnikon*. But see below, n. 47.

³⁷ J.K. DAVIES, *Rebuilding a Temple. The Economic Effects of Piety*, in: D.J. MATTINGLY – J. SALMON, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 218; V.D. KUZNETSOV, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 140-141, 191-193; Ch. FEYEL, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 328-340.

³⁸ E.g. Sisyphos, a metic gilder, mentioned in one prytany of 408/7 and then in 406 BCE: 476.54-59; 478.2. While part of the text of the accounts is lost, we may assume that there was not a job in every prytany for a gilder.

disposing of the metic builders — this is an advantage of using a free workforce. No doubt, many of these builders left Attica, presumably mostly those who had arrived recently — sometimes without their families³⁹. But then, it was already 405 BCE and the events, ominous for citizens and metics alike, were not far away⁴⁰.

The Eleusinian accounts were produced in very different political and economic conditions from those of the end of the fifth century BCE. Nevertheless, similar causes seem to determine over-representation of metics in the two projects discussed. In fact, the ratio of metics appears to be even greater in Lycurgan Athens compared with the Athens of Cleophon. Apart from traders, those dealing with transport and persons of unknown status and/or profession, we have 13 citizens (including an architect) versus 34 metic craftsmen⁴¹. The actual percentage of metics may be even higher. First, the known names belong mostly to contractors, and among their workers, always anonymous and usually unmentioned, there are not likely to be many citizens, while some of these workers were probably free⁴². Second, the status indication is frequently omitted in the Eleusinian documents, and persons of unknown status are more likely to be non-citizens and, as far as the contractors are concerned,

³⁹ According to D. WHITEHEAD, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 97-98 with n. 185, many metics stayed in Attica for a few years only and without their families. M.H. HANSEN, *Studies in the Population* (n. 7), p. 22, objects that the Attic tombstones show a higher proportion of women among metics than among citizens, thus conveying the impression of a fairly stable population. But, of course, short-term visitors were much less likely to die and be commemorated in Attica.

⁴⁰ The restored democracy had to restore the Erechtheion, too: *IG II/III*² 1654. Of ten artisans whose status is more or less securely attested, all are metics (lines 2-4, 5-8, 12-14, 15-16, 28, 30, 40). Two craftsmen may be either citizens or metics (ll. 5, 12). I leave aside those recorded who may not have been artisans, but are included in the prosopography of Ch. FEYEL, *op. cit.* (n. 1) (e.g. ÉR 30, 65). Though the sample is too small to be reliable, it is perhaps indicative that (a) the distribution of the metics according to demes is similar to that known from the inscriptions of 409-407 BCE; (b) none of the Erechtheion builders of the later fifth century is mentioned. Cf. L. GLUSKINA, *Problems of Socio-Economic History of Athens of IV c. B.C.E.*, Leningrad 1975, p. 50 (in Russian).

⁴¹ See prosopography in V.D. KUZNETSOV, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 453-457; Ch. FEYEL, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 59-87. Cf. above, n. 15.

⁴² See Sh. EPSTEIN, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 107-108. The assertion of Feyel: «... au cours du temps, la cité d'Athènes a préféré posséder une force de travail, plutôt que simplement la louer» (*op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 326) seems to me over-confident. Another suggestion on the same page: «En fait, le travail servile existe toujours, mais les comptes ne nomment plus individuellement les esclaves» sounds more probable, understood in the sense that privately owned slaves are still employed but either the accounts ignore them, together with all contractors' workers, or their status is undefined.

to be metics rather than slaves⁴³. In contrast, we have a much higher proportion of citizens in 'non-building' professions: two shoemakers of four of known status⁴⁴, an equal number of citizens and metics dealing with transport, a more or less equal number of traders of both statuses⁴⁵. The only tanner is a citizen. The pattern seems to be clear: the metic over-representation is much more significant in the spheres which saw a steep and temporary rise in demand due to the ambitious Lycurgan building programme⁴⁶.

Accordingly, it seems probable, for the reasons described above, that a significant proportion of these metic smiths, masons, carpenters, painters and plasterers were newcomers. So «the labourers from Megara» of 1673.28-9 were certainly newcomers, and they were potential metics after a short period, unless they had returned home by that time or some agreement existed between Athens and Megara⁴⁷.

The conditions in Athens and in Greece favoured such development. In Athens, after long decades of little or no public construction, building

⁴³ Cf. above, n. 3. Karion, who contracted for sawing (1672.58-59, 66-67), was probably a freedman, not a slave.

⁴⁴ Strictly speaking, we know the status of only one non-citizen shoemaker — a metic (1673.49-50), but Syriskos (1673.49), whether slave or free, is not a citizen, of course.

⁴⁵ It is not always obvious whether a person is a trader: see, e.g., Ergasos of Ikarion: 1672.189, 194-195. Here, I ignore traders with an *ethnikon* as likely non-resident, though some of them could be exempted from *metoikion*: below, n. 47.

⁴⁶ For this programme see E.M. BURKE, *Lycurgan Finances*, *GRBS* 26 (1985), p. 251-264, at p. 254-255; Chr. HABICHT, *Athens from Alexander to Antony*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1999, p. 24-26. The demand for transport facilities doubtless increased, too, during a large-scale construction project, but this demand could be partially met by farmers, Attic and foreign, especially from agricultural regions: see Pherekleides from Boeotia, 1672.22-23, 50-51. cf. II² 351 for a Platean who provided Athenians with 1000 oxen teams (probably day-teams; K. CLINTON, *Inscriptions from Eleusis*, *AE* 1971 [1972], p. 105) for the construction of the Panathenaic stadium (330/29 BCE). Cf. F.G. MAIER, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften* I, Heidelberg 1959, no. 2, lines 7-9, for a similar case when the Piraeus walls were restored. Cf. J. SALMON, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 201. Clearly, metics were at a disadvantage when ownership of ox-teams was needed, whereas no specialized skills were required. So, we might perhaps find a lower proportion of metic carriers in more typical years.

⁴⁷ Above, n. 36. Apart from traders and truly recent newcomers, other persons denoted via their *ethnikon* are those exempted from the obligation to be registered as metics, as was probably the case with Troezenian *epistatai* of public slaves: 1673.57-58; cf. 1569.63. See D. WHITEHEAD, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 15 with n. 74. Some of the Boeotians, Corinthians and Megarians, usually thought of as traders, precisely on account of their *ethnikon*, may in fact be future metics and producers of their respective goods. This option is presented as the only possible one in Ch. FEYEL, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 326. Cf. below, n. 59.

reached levels unprecedented since the Periclean era⁴⁸. At least two other major concurrent projects were undertaken in Greece: in Delphi and Epidauros⁴⁹. At the same time, an extensive shipbuilding project was underway. By 330/29 the number of warships had surpassed the Periclean record: 392 triremes and 18 quadriremes, and many of these ships were newly built⁵⁰. No doubt, many Athenian carpenters were involved in this programme. And, of course, the Lycurgan restoration of cult objects required artisans too⁵¹. And though no war was fought, a considerable proportion of Athenian citizens were rowers⁵², so craftsmanship was probably not the main specialization of even the urban population.

So, if there was once a period when Athens would lack local handicraftsmen, it was the period reflected in the Eleusinian building documents: while the Athenian commitments more or less equaled those of the Periclean era, the number of Athenian citizens was about the same as during the Erechtheion construction, about half as many as before the Peloponnesian war⁵³.

But if foreign craftsmen were required, they could be supplied, too. The Pan-Hellenic peace favoured free movement of workforce; hence the presence of so many ethnika, whose bearers sometimes may have been future metics⁵⁴. And even though the execution of three large simultaneous building projects might have caused difficulties in attracting a foreign workforce, generally the Athenians had enough resources to compete⁵⁵.

⁴⁸ The magnificent third phase of the Pnyx, once dated by the period of Eubulus' ascendancy, is now regarded as a Lycurgan project: B. FORSÉN – G.R. STANTON (eds.), *The Pnyx in the History of Athens*, Helsinki 1996, p. 23-33, 35-40, 45-46; J.M. CAMP, *The Archaeology of Athens*, New Haven 2001, p. 153-154, 266. See also above, n. 46.

⁴⁹ For involvement of Athenian-based artisans, citizens and metics, in these projects see V.D. KUZNETSOV, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 126, 144, 174, 181, 192-193, 198, 203-204, 205, 208, 211; J.K. DAVIES, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 222-223 with n. 58 and 64; Ch. FEYEL, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 348-355.

⁵⁰ E.M. BURKE, *art. cit.* (n. 46), p. 255. 300 triremes in Periclean Athens: Ar., *Ach.* 545; Th. II 13.8.

⁵¹ E.M. BURKE, *art. cit.* (n. 46), p. 255.

⁵² Arist., *Pol.* 1291b24.

⁵³ M.H. HANSEN, *Three Studies* (n. 7), p. 14-28.

⁵⁴ Above, n. 47.

⁵⁵ See J.K. DAVIES, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 222 with n. 58 for a suggestion that the Lycurgan construction programme kept some Athenian contractors from participation in the Delphian building. Of course, the reverse could also be true. Was this difficulty in obtaining skilled workers one of the reasons that the Eleusinian portico was left unfinished till the reign of Demetrios of Phaleron? See Vitruvius, *De architectura* VII, *praef.* 17. The financial resources of Athens in 330s-320s: E.M. BURKE, *art. cit.* (n. 46).

Literary and epigraphical sources confirm that even a great polis could depend on the availability of foreign craftsmen for her public construction⁵⁶. I suggest that the building accounts of the Erechtheion and Eleusis are additional examples of such dependence.

If I am correct, we should be cautious in using the Attic building accounts as a source for social and professional composition of the body of Athenian inhabitants⁵⁷. As is often the case with ancient sources, they reflect extraordinary circumstances, and are prone to distort the picture of typical situations. On the other hand, the notion of 'typical' is relative: it was typical in antiquity that large-scale public building powerfully influenced the life of a community, whether this impact was intended or not⁵⁸. These inscriptions also remind us that many — perhaps most — Athenian resident foreigners were, largely because of the short and arbitrarily set 'incubation period' before their being registered, *nolens volens*, as metics, precisely that — foreigners, arriving and departing according to their (usually economic) considerations, and not, as some ancient and modern authors would like to see them, an «integral part of Athenian society»⁵⁹.

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⁵⁶ Th. V 82.6; Xen., *Hell.* IV 8.10; D.S. XIV 85.2-3; F.G. MAIER, *op. cit.* (n. 46), N 9, lines 4,12. cf. Th. I 90.3; D.S. XI 40.1; XII 47.4. See also above, n. 46.

⁵⁷ See, for example, E.M. HARRIS, *Workshop, Marketplace and Household. The Nature of Technical Specialization in Classical Athens and its Influence on Economy and Society*, in: P. CARTLEDGE – E.E. COHEN – L. FOXHALL (eds.), *Money, Labour and Land. Approaches to the Economies of Ancient Greece*, London 2002, p. 67-99, at p. 70.

⁵⁸ On controversial views of this influence see, e.g., G. BODEI GIGLIONI, *Lavori pubblici ed occupazione nell' antichità classica*, Bologna 1974; J.K. DAVIES, *op. cit.* (n. 37); J. SALMON, *The Economic Role of the Greek City*, *GRBS* 46 (1999), p. 147-167.

⁵⁹ See D. WHITEHEAD, *op. cit.* (n. 6) p. 159-160 with bibliography. Cf. Ch. FEYEL, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 321, 326, suggesting, together with Gauthier (above, n. 36), the contrast between the metics of the fifth century, with their «fidélité à la cité d'Athènes», and of the fourth century, when many metics viewed «leurs séjours à Athènes comme passager».

DIE HISTORISCHE PROBLEMATIK DER GRÄBER VON VERGINA*

Abstract: Der vorliegende Aufsatz hat zum eigentlichen Zweck, die Notwendigkeit einer Nachprüfung der zuerst vom Historiker N.G.L. Hammond (aufgrund einer meteorologischen Beobachtung von Theophrast) vertretenen Auffassung über die Lokalisierung der alten makedonischen Hauptstadt Aigai in dem besagten Dorf aufzuzeigen, einer Auffassung, die anschliessend von archäologischer Seite (dem Ausgräber M. Andronikos und anderen Fachleuten) durch die Zuweisung der Gräber an Philipp II (bzw. Mitglieder der königlichen Familie) befürwortet wurde, und danach in der einschlägigen Fachliteratur, aber auch sonst, einen weiten Anklang fand und noch findet. Aufgrund der im Aufsatz vorgebrachten Dokumentation, die sich auf den bis jetzt publizierten Teil der Funde beschränken muss, wird man hingegen als Inhaber der Gräber einen dem König (Alexander d. Gr.) nahestehenden, am Asienfeldzug beteiligten vornehmen Makedonen mit seinen Familienangehörigen vermuten und als erste Hauptstadt des Reiches das dem Hirten- und Bauernvolk der Makedonen eher passende Edessa annehmen können (was ja vor der Ausgrabung in der Forschung bekanntlich als *communis opinio* galt). Die im 4. Jh. v.Chr. unweit des Meeres an der Stelle des heutigen Vergina liegende Stadt galt wahrscheinlich als Königsresidenz, was wohl ein Grund dafür gewesen sein könnte, dass die Stadt nach Einrichtung der Provinz Makedonien allmählich verlassen wurde.

VORBEMERKUNG

Mit den historischen Fragen, die sich aus den spektakulären Funden von Vergina ergeben, war der Althistoriker in Thessaloniki sozusagen ständig konfrontiert — in erster Linie wegen der unmittelbaren Kunde, die er davon hatte. Die Anregung zu einer näheren Beschäftigung kam allerdings nicht vom eigenen Fach, sondern von der Naturwissenschaft, namentlich der Geologie: Durch die Berechnung der jährlichen Ablagerungen des Aliakmon in etwa zweieinhalb Jahrtausenden konnte man in der geologischen Forschung längst annehmen, dass die Entfernung der in Vergina liegenden antiken Stadt vom damaligen südlichen Ufer des

* Stark veränderte und ergänzte Fassung eines Vortrags, der bei der 26. Tagung der Mommsen Gesellschaft in Göttingen (6-9 Juni 2001) und im Institut für Altertumskunde der Universität Trier im Juli 2004 gehalten und zwei Jahre später mit vier Anhängen (in Neugr.) veröffentlicht wurde (*Ιστορικά προβλήματα των τάφων της Βεργίνας*, Kyriakidis Verlag, Thessaloniki 2006).

Thermaischen Golfes erheblich kleiner als heute gewesen sein muss. Die Gründung der alten makedonischen Hauptstadt so nahe am Meer liesse sich schwerlich vorstellen; F. Papazoglou hatte m.W. zuerst (allerdings nur beiläufig und ohne jeglichen Bezug auf den geologischen Aspekt) aus geopolitischen Gründen die Lokalisierung von Aigai in Vergina bestritten, nachher aber offenbar unter dem weltweiten Eindruck der spektakulären Entdeckungen ihre Zweifel zurückgezogen.

Zu den Bedenken aus der Naturwissenschaft kam etliche Jahre später ein Gegenbeweis aus der Epigraphik bzw. der Archäologie hinzu. Durch eine Freilassungsurkunde aus dem J. 253 n.Chr., die mir erst durch die Veröffentlichung des Jahres 2000 bekannt wurde (jedoch schon bei dem 8. Internationalen Epigraphischen Kongress im J. 1982 mitgeteilt worden war), ist zum ersten Mal eine epigraphisch einwandfreie, authentische (das Selbstzeugnis eines offenbar Einheimischen enthaltene) Kunde von der westmakedonischen Gemeinde Aigai vermittelt, wonach sie einen Kaisertempel (Caesareum) besass. In dem im 3. Jh. n.Chr. offensichtlich schon völlig verlassenen (gut ausgegrabenen) Vergina kann dieses Aigai mit dem Kaisertempel gewiss nicht gelegen haben; es kann aber in der Nachbargemeinde des in der Kaiserzeit (nach dem epigraphischen und numismatischen Befund) offenbar gut bewohnten Edessa gelegen haben, da, wo nach der in der Forschung bis auf die Entdeckungen von Vergina geltenden *communis opinio* die alte makedonische Hauptstadt lag. Die ausführliche Beschreibung des geräumigen Theaters zu Beginn des vorigen Jahrhunderts von dem damaligen Bibliothekar des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Athen Adolf von Struck, sowie seine sonstigen Hinweise auf andere Monumente, legen die Vermutung nahe, dass unter den offenbar verschwundenen öffentlichen Bauten der von der modernen überbauten antiken Stadt auch der besagte Kaisertempel zu finden wäre. Das gleiche gilt wohl auch für die (unzähligen) Gräber der makedonischen Könige und ihrer Familienangehörigen, welche nach unserer literarischen Überlieferung (Diodor, Plutarch) von den keltischen Söldnern des Pyrrhos im J. 274 v.Chr. insgesamt zerstört worden sind; sie sind in Vergina ebenfalls (bis jetzt) nicht gefunden worden.

Im Hinblick auf sein Endergebnis kann der vorliegende Aufsatz gewiss keine Originalität beanspruchen. In erster Linie will er ja ein Beitrag zur Forschungsgeschichte sein und dies aus einem besonderen Grund: Zu den aus den Funden von Vergina sich ergebenden Fragen gibt es jeweils einschlägige Publikationen aus m.W. neun Disziplinen: Fünf gehören der Altertumswissenschaft (Klassische Archäologie, Alte

Geschichte, Klassische Philologie, Epigraphik, Numismatik), drei dem naturwissenschaftlichen Bereich (Geologie, Meteorologie und Anthropologie) an; hinzu kommt die Kriminalistik. Der dadurch zum Vorschein kommende interdisziplinäre Aspekt, genauer: die dem Aufsatz zugrundeliegende Auffassung von dessen (im konkreten wie in anderen Fällen auch) Notwendigkeit macht seine Besonderheit und womöglich seinen Nutzen als forschungs-geschichtlicher Beitrag aus.

I. VERGINA ALS VALLA (1876-1968)

Im Gegensatz zu vielen anderen Orten Nordgriechenlands war Vergina schon früher, d.h. vor den spektakulären Ausgrabungen des Jahres 1977, archäologisch gut erforscht. Durch Mitteilungen in den griechischen archäologischen Zeitschriften, aber auch durch Publikationen im Ausland, wurden die Ergebnisse der vor, hauptsächlich aber nach, dem zweiten Weltkrieg durchgeführten Ausgrabungen der internationalen Fachwelt verhältnismässig schnell bekanntgemacht: Das gilt z.B. für das 1938 entdeckte (ausgeraubte), 1951 publizierte grosse makedonische Grab (heute nach dem Ausgräber "Rhomaïos Grab" genannt)¹, die ältere Nekropole der Stadt (über die es, neben anderen Berichten bzw. Einzeluntersuchungen, seit 1969 ein grundlegendes Werk von Andronikos gab)², vor allem aber den eindrucksvollen, vom französischen Archäologen L. Heuzey 1861 entdeckten, 1876 zusammen mit anderen Funden (u.a. einem grossen ausgeraubten "makedonischen" Grab) publizierten, als "Palast" bezeichneten Bau³. Über diesen Palast, den man früher in die Zeit des Antigonos Gonatas, später in das Ende des 4. Jhs. setzte, neuerdings für einen Bau Philipps II hält, gibt es eine Reihe von Einzeluntersuchungen bzw. Beobachtungen, aber keine umfassende Darstellung. Zu erwähnen sind hier (u.a.), die 1961 erschienene, von einem

¹ K. RHOMAIOS, 'Ο Μακεδονικὸς τάφος τῆς Βεργίνας, [Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν, Μακεδονικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, Nr. 14], Athen 1951.

² M. ANDRONIKOS, *Vergina. The Prehistoric Necropolis and the Hellenistic Palace*, in: *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* IX, Lund 1964; *Βεργίνα I. Τὸ νεκροταφεῖον τῶν τύμβων*, Athen 1969; s. auch ders.: *Deux stèles funéraires de Vergina*, BCH 79 (1955), S. 87-101. (Über die frühere archäologische Forschung s. den Literaturüberblick bei ANDRONIKOS, *Τὸ νεκροταφεῖον*, S. 1-7; zu erwähnen ist hier der Ausgrabungsbericht von Ph. PETSAS, *Ἀνασκαφὴ ἀρχαίου νεκροταφείου Βεργίνης*, AD 17 (1961-1962), A', S. 218-288.

³ L. HEUZEY – H. DAUMOT, *Mission Archéologique de Macédoine*, Paris 1876, S. 51.

Architekten und drei Archäologen verfasste kurze Monographie (unter ihnen Andronikos)⁴, die obengenannte Darstellung desselben über die Nekropole, sowie die Abhandlungen von D. Pandermalis (1976 und 1987)⁵ und W. Hoepfner⁶.

Die Frage nach der Identifizierung der Stadt konnte begreiflicherweise in Hinblick auf alle diese Funde nicht ausbleiben. Heuzey folgend⁷ identifizierte man sie, soweit ich die Literatur überblicken kann, öfter mit dem literarisch dreimal bezeugten Valla⁸. Das gilt auch für die ebengenannte Monographie über den Palast, wo es von einer Stadt "mit einer ziemlich langen historischen Tradition, die bis in die römische Zeit fortlebte", gesprochen wird⁹.

⁴ M. ANDRONIKOS – Chr. MAKARONAS – N. MOUTSOPOULOS – G. BAKALAKIS, *Τὸ Ἀνάκτορον τῆς Βεργίνας*, Athen 1961. Vgl. auch den Aufsatz von K. RHOMAIOS, *Τὸ ἀνάκτορον τῆς Παλατίτσας*, in: *Μικρὰ Μελετήματα*, Thessaloniki 1955 [1939], S. 111-116.

⁵ D. PANDERMALIS, *Beobachtungen zur Fassadenarchitektur und Aussichtsverande im hellenistischen Makedonien*, in: P. ZANKER (Hrsg.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien. Kolloquium in Göttingen von 5. bis 9. Juni 1974* (Abh. der Akad. der Wiss. in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl. III.97, I/II), Göttingen 1976, S. 387-397; *Ἡ κεράμωση τοῦ ἀνακτόρου τῆς Βεργίνας*, in: *ΑΜΗΤΟΣ. Festschrift für M. Andronikos*, Thessaloniki 1987, S. 579ff.

⁶ W. HOEPFNER, *Zum Typus der Basileia und der königlichen Andrones*, in: W. HOEPFNER – G. BRANDS (Hrsg.), *Basileia, Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige. Internationales Symposium in Berlin von 16.XII.1992 bis 20.XII.1992*, Mainz 1996, S. 8-17 (Ein Andron Philippos II in Aigai? mit der früheren Literatur); R.A. TOMLINSON, *Ancient Macedonian Symposia, Ancient Macedonia 1* (1968) [1970], S. 313-315; R. GINOUVES, in: R. GINOUVES – J. AKAMATIS – M. ANDRONIKOS *et al.* (Hrsg.), *Ἡ Μακεδονία ἀπὸ τὸν Φίλιππο Β' ἕως τὴν ρωμαϊκὴ κατὰκτηση*, Athen 1993, S. 84-86. Vgl. auch Chr. SAATSOGLOU-PALIADELI, *The Palace of Vergina-Aegae and its Surroundings*, in: *The Royal Palace Institution in the First Millennium B.C. (Monographs of the Danish Institute of Athens, Vol. 4)*, 2004, S. 201-213.

⁷ L. HEUZEY, a.a.O., S. 180-183; GEYER, *Makedonia*, RE XIV 1 (1928), Sp. 660 (mit Hinweis auf die frühere Literatur: Demitsas, Oberhummer, Struck, Kiepert); EDSON, *CPh* 1955, S. 182 mit Anm. 154.

⁸ Ptolemaios II 13.40: πόλεις δ' εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ μεσόγειαί αἵδε· Πιερίας· Φυλακαί, Οὐάλλαι; Plinius, *N.H.* IV 34: *oppida Pydna, Oloros amnis Haliakmon intus Aloritai, Vallaei, Phylacaei, Cyrrestae*; Steph. Byz.: Βάλλα: πόλις Μακεδονίας, ὡς Πέλλα, ὁ πολίτης Βαλλαῖος· Θεαγένης ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ (sic!) "Βαλλαῖους μεταγαγὼν εἰς τὸν νῦν καλούμενον Πύθιον τόπον" [= MÜLLER, *FHG* IV, S. 509 Nr. 4; zum Lokalhistoriker der vorrömischen-hellenistischen Zeit Theagenes, s. R. LAQUEUR, RE, s.v. *Theagenes*, 1934, Sp. 1348]. Ein 1911 gefundenes Relief, in dem der Kult des Pythios Apollon bezeugt ist, bringt, im Vergleich mit einem älteren, von Heuzey publizierten, als archäologische Stütze für die Identifizierung von Vergina mit Valla, K. RHOMAIOS, in seiner Abhandlung *Ὁ Μακεδονικὸς τάφος τῆς Βεργίνας*, a.a.O., S. 12-13. Zur Diskussion, s. F. PAPAZOGLU, *Les villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine* (BCH Suppl. XVI), Athen 1988, S. 126-128.

⁹ M. ANDRONIKOS, *Τὸ Ἀνάκτορον τῆς Βεργίνας* (Anm. 4), S. 14. In seiner Publikation der zwei Grabinschriften aus Vergina (s.o. Anm. 2) bemerkte allerdings Andronikos

II. VERGINA ALS AIGAI: GEGENINSTANZEN AUS DER METEOROLOGISCHEN UND GEOLOGISCHEN FORSCHUNG DER REGION

Der erste, der diese weit angenommene Auffassung ablehnend, Vergina mit der alten makedonischen Hauptstadt identifizierte, war bekanntlich N.G.L. Hammond, bei dem im J. 1968 in Thessaloniki stattgefundenen 1. Symposium für das antike Makedonien¹⁰; er tat es durch den Hinweis auf zwei literarische Zeugnisse, die er auch in dem 1972 erschienenen ersten Band der *History of Macedonia* vorbrachte¹¹. Da die Auffassung

“l’hypothese” (von Heuzey) “reste incertaine et attend des éléments nouveaux de la recherche archéologique pour être acceptée ou rejetée” (a.a.O., S. 87 Anm. 5); vgl. auch seine Abhandlung über die Nekropole aus dem J. 1964, S. 5. Beide Äusserungen werden von ihm in der Publikation der Funde von Vergina zitiert (*Vergina. The Royal Tombs*, Athen 1984 [2004], S. 58).

¹⁰ N.G.L. HAMMOND, *The Archaeological Background to the Macedonian Kingdom, Ancient Macedonia* 1 (1968) [1970], S. 53-67, bes. 65: “Where then was Aegeae? Theophrastus *De Ventis* 27, who had personal knowledge of Macedonia, gives us the best clue. According to him a strong north wind, striking the high country of Olympus, drives the lower clouds down and back, that is back towards the north, and this happens περί Αἰγείας τῆς Μακεδονίας. Aegeae, then, must have lain on the north side of the long Olympus massif and low down in relation to a steep escarpment, so that a katabatic wind had this effect. Ptolemy places Aegeae in Emathia, so that it must have faced the central plain of Macedonia. On the basis of these two passages we have to put Aegeae somewhere near the entry of the Haliakmon river into the central plain, for example near Palatitsa-Vergina, which lies under the steep escarpment of the Pierian mountains and overlooks Emathia. When we look for the early graves of the Macedonian kings in this area, we are led inevitably to the tumulus-burials of Vergina.. I see some of the burials as those of the Macedonian kings and their closest associates, and I see their tumulus-burial there as the ancestor of the built Macedonian tomb. In other words some tumulus-burials of Vergina are the earliest Royal Graves of the Argeadae”. [In der betreffenden Anmerkung meinte Hammond, das von Rhomaios entdeckte Grab könnte wegen des dort erhaltenen Thrones das Grab Philipps II sein, ohne jeglichen Hinweis auf die Argumentation des Ausgräbers selbst, der das Grab — wie den Palast — in die Zeit des Antigonos Gonatas setzte (wörtlich: “οὔτε παλαιότερος οὔτε σημαντικὰ νεώτερος μπορεῖ νὰ εἶναι”, K. RHOMAIOS, a.a.O. [Anm. 1], S. 49)]. Zu Hammond’s Datierung (bzw. zur Identifizierung von Vergina mit Aigai) s. die kritische Bemerkungen von Ph. PETSAS, *Zum makedonischen Grab von Vergina* (Neugr.), in: *Ancient Macedonia* 5 (1983) [1986], S. 447-448.

¹¹ N.G.L. HAMMOND, *A History of Macedonia, I: Historical Geography and Prehistory*, Oxford 1972, S. 157f.: “The question now is where Aegeae lay. We have a few clues. The most important is in Theophrastus, who had personal knowledge of Macedonia. In discussing the fact that a strong wind in high country sometimes creates a back-current carrying low clouds towards the wind, he remarked that this happened περί Αἰγείας τῆς Μακεδονίας with a strong north wind striking the high country of Olympus, failing to surmount it, and so bringing the lower clouds back (*De Ventis* 27). These words mean that Aegeae was north of Olympus (not Bermium) and relatively low down, and that the country behind Aegeae and towards Olympus was steep. Aegeae was in Emathia in Ptolemy’s list, which means at least that it faced the central plain. In 359 B.C.,

Hammonds die Argumentationsbasis für die Theorie von Andronikos und allen anderen, die die Gräber von Vergina mit König Philipp II. verbinden, ausmacht, soll hier auf seine Interpretationen näher eingegangen werden, zumal es, soweit ich weiss, bisher nicht geschehen ist.

Das erste, nach seiner Formulierung, “most important” Zeugnis, ist eine Stelle aus der Schrift Theophrast’s “Über die Winde” (περὶ ἀνέμων), wo das Phänomen der Rückkehrzirkulation (ἀνάκλασις) der Winde mit einem Beispiel aus Makedonien beschrieben wird: Der nördliche Wind stösst auf die hohen Berge von Olymp und Ossa und da er sie nicht “überwinden” kann, weht er in die entgegengesetzte Richtung, sodass er auch die in niedriger Höhe sich befindenden Wolken in dieser Richtung bewegt¹². Der Name des Ortes, in dem das so beschriebene Phänomen geschieht, ist nicht sicher überliefert: Das Wort Αἰγείας (d.h. Aigai) ist Konjekture von Is. Vossius, die in der Gesamtausgabe der Werke Theophrast’s von J. Schneider (Leipzig 1818-1821) aufgenommen ist. Die MSS bieten Λιγγίας, andere (vor ihm) schlugen Λυγγίας, bzw. Λυγκέας vor. Die Konjekture von Vossius ist freilich, wie O. Gigon in seiner mit dem besagten Werk befassten (nicht publizierten) Habitationsschrift sagt, paläographisch weitaus die beste und wird heute allgemein akzeptiert¹³.

Problematisch sind dagegen die in dem betreffenden Passus erwähnten geographischen Verhältnisse. Da wird, wie Gigon bemerkt, neben Olymp

when the Athenian fleet lay at Methone, Argaeus und a force of mercenaries made an abortive strike at Aegeae and were intercepted on the way back. It appears that we should place Aegeae at Palatitsa. Such a situation suits the conditions required by the combined evidence of Theophrastus and Ptolemy, since it is more reasonable to extend the name Olympus to the whole range than to extend Emathia into the mountains of Pieria. It makes the action of Argaeus intelligible, because Aegeae is then within striking distance of Methone and the return journey is feasible within a day”.

¹² Theophrast, *Περὶ ἀνέμων* 27: γίνεται δὲ καὶ ἀνάκλασις τις τῶν ἀνέμων, ὥστ’ ἀντιπνεῖν αὐτοῖς ὅταν ὑψηλότεροις τόποις προσπνεύσαντες ὑπερᾶραι μὴ δύνωνται, διὸ ἐνιαχοῦ τὰ νέφη τοῖς πνεύμασι ὑπεναντία φέρεται, καθάπερ περὶ Αἰγείας τῆς Μακεδονίας, βορέου πνέοντος πρὸς [τὸν] βορέαν. αἴτιον δ’ ὅτι τῶν ὀρῶν ὄντων ὑψηλῶν τῶν τε περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον καὶ τὴν Ὀσσαν, τὰ πνεύματα προσπίπτοντα καὶ οὐχ ὑπεραίροντα, τούτων ἀνακλᾶται πρὸς τοῦναντίον. ὥστε καὶ τὰ νέφη κατώτερα ὄντα φέρουσιν ἐναντίως. Συμβαίνει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρ’ ἄλλοις.

¹³ O. GIGON, *Theophrastos. Über die Winde*. Text und Kommentar, Bern 1946, App. Crit. z. St. 77 [Für die Zusendung von Fotokopien der einschlägigen Seiten der Schrift möchte ich Prof. Dr. H.E. Herzig auch an dieser Stelle meinen Dank aussprechen]; vgl. auch V. COUTANT – V. EICHENLAUB, *Theophrastus De Ventis*. Ed. with Introduction, Translation and Commentary, London 1975. Der Aufsatz von A. LABATE, *Codici inesplorati del De ventis di Teophrasto*, in: *Scritti in onore di S. Pugliatti (Pubbl. Ist. di Sc. Jurid. Univ. di Messina CVII-CXI)*, Milano 1978, Bd. V, S. 337-346 war mir nicht zugänglich.

das südlich liegende Ossa, nicht aber der hinter dem Tal Aliakmons liegende (1878 m. hohe) Pieros genannt. Gigon, dessen Schrift Hammond nicht kannte, schloss aus der von Theophrast gegebenen Beschreibung "Theophrast hat sich sicher das αἴτιον aus seiner eigenen vagen Allgemeinkenntnis Makedoniens zurecht gelegt. Olymp und Ossa sind die Berge, die bekannt und sichtbar Makedonien nach Süden abgrenzen. Darum müssen sie ihm zur Erklärung des Phänomens von Aigai — das er wohl als einzelnes Paradoxon einem Berichte entnommen hatte — dienen. Präzise geographische Vorstellungen sind ja nicht zu erwarten"¹⁴.

Bezeichnenderweise sah aber auch Hammond von jeglicher Verifizierung des von Theophrast beschriebenen Naturphänomens durch die zuständige meteorologische Forschung ab: In dem in der *RE* im Jahre 1958 erschienenen Artikel *Winde, Rückkehrzirkulation* von R. Böker, wo die Erklärungsschwierigkeiten der Theophraststelle ausführlich dargelegt werden, wird das Phänomen im Zusammenhang mit anderen Beispielen und unter Hinweis auf die älteren einschlägigen Arbeiten, in Verbindung mit dem südlich des Bora-Berges und östlich des Begoritis-Sees liegenden Edessa gebracht¹⁵. Auch in der letzten, 1975 erschienenen kommentierten Ausgabe des Textes von V. Coutant und V. Eichenlaub, wird das Phänomen ebenfalls in der Gegend von Edessa lokalisiert¹⁶. Dort lässt sich noch, nach Berichten der Einheimischen, die Windzirkulation in der

¹⁴ O. GIGON, a.a.O., S. 76.

¹⁵ R. BÖKER, *RE* xx (1958), Sp. 2257 A 27 ("Rückkehrzirkulation mit horizontaler Achse"). Die wörtlich angeführte Stelle der Schrift Theophrasts wird wie folgt kommentiert: "Aigai-Makedonien liegt südlich der Barre des Bora-Mons, östlich des Begoritis Lacus; die steile, vegetationsarme Südwand des Boramassivs begünstigt einerseits das Aufsteigen erhitzter Luftmassen, während die Seeoberfläche zu starkem Abwärtsog Veranlassung gibt. Die Wahl des Beispiels bei Theophrast bestätigt unsere Identifikation, denn in der Höhe ziehen die Kondensationscumuli nach Süden, während auf der Landstrasse Aigai-Kellai, am Fusse des Bora, Windzug gegen Nord herrscht".

¹⁶ V. COUTANT – V. EICHENLAUB, a.a.O. (Anm. 13), Introd. S. XXXII (unter Hinweis auf Bökers Artikel): "Many wind peculiarities related to topography are noted in De Ventis. In Section 27, the "backlash" of winds (a counterflow, with southerly winds near the surface and prevailing northerly winds aloft) near Aegae in Macedonia is described. Aegae (now called Edhessa) lies south of the Bora Mountains and east of Begoritis Lake. There seems little doubt that Theophrastus is referring to a combination lake and valley wind, where the vegetation-bare south wall of the Bora favors formation of a southerly upslope wind in opposition to the prevailing etesians". Ebd., S. 77 (Kommentar) "Ossa and Olympus in Thessaly; Aegae, now Edessa, lies at the foot of the vegetation-bare south wall of the Bora Massif, and east of Begoritis Lake. A combination lake-and-valley breeze occurs in opposition to the prevailing northerly flow. A similar phenomenon occurs near Athens, where the sea breeze is in opposition to the etesians. The countercurrent is reached at an elevation of about 1000 meters (Van der Lan, 'Meteorologische

Zeit von Mitte Oktober bis Ende Februar beobachten, während sie in Vergina völlig unbekannt ist. Dass in der gleichen Gegend "Windzug gegen Nord herrscht", wird auch von Böker in dem eben erwähnten *RE* Artikel gesagt.

Nicht berücksichtigt wurde merkwürdigerweise aber von Hammond die auch dem nicht Kundigen einleuchtende Tatsache, dass die Landschaft im Mündungsgebiet des Aliakmon, wo Vergina liegt, durch die jährlichen Ablagerungen des Flusses im Lauf von zweieinhalb Jahrtausenden sich gewaltig verändert haben muss¹⁷. Nach den (vorläufigen) Schätzungen des Geologischen Instituts der Universität Thessaloniki dürfte die Entfernung der Stelle des heutigen Vergina vom Meer in der archaischen Zeit nicht länger als 10 Km gewesen sein¹⁸. Die erste Hauptstadt der als Bauern bekannten alten Makedonen in einer so ziemlichen Nähe zum Meer vorzustellen, widerspricht, wie Papazoglou schon bemerkt hatte, der historischen Wahrscheinlichkeit¹⁹.

Das zweite Zeugnis ist der kurzgefasste, gewiss unklare Bericht Diodors über den 359 v.Chr. unternommenen Versuch des makedonischen Kronprätendenten Argaios, mit Hilfe der Athener in Makedonien einzugreifen. Mit einer aus Söldnern bestehenden Streitmacht unter der Führung eines athenischen Generals landete Argaios in Methone und von da kam er mit den Söldnern nach Aigai, wo sein Versuch, die Bürger zum Abfall zu

Besonderheiten der Ägäis', *Archiv für Meteorologie, Geophysik und Bioclimatologie*, Bd. I, 1949, 288-409").

¹⁷ S. dazu J. EUMORPHOPOULOS, *Veränderungen des Golfes von Thessaloniki, Geographica Helvetica* 18 (1963), S. 269-277 (mit Karte 1+2), bes. S. 274: "Die Geschiebeführung des Haliakmon: Auf Grund der Querschnitte der Jahre 1933 und 1960 wurde die jährliche Geschiebemenge auf ca. 490.000 m³ berechnet. Hieraus resultieren insgesamt 6.100.000 m³ jährlicher Ablagerungen, die sich zu 5.560.000 m³ auf Absätze ins Meer, zu 490.000 m³ auf solche ins Überschmammungsbett verteilen; weitere 500.000 m³ haben als 'Abrundungsmenge' zu gelten". In dem Aufsatz von E. KIRSTEN, *Makedoniens Flüsse und Küsten im Altertum, Βυζαντινά* 13 (1985), S. 219-235, wo der Verfasser für die Identifizierung von Vergina mit Aigai eintritt (s. S. 220, 223, 229f.) wird merkwürdigerweise, entgegen den vom Titel des Aufsatzes herrührenden Erwartungen, von (den schon bekannten) litterarischen Zeugnissen ausgegangen, während die geologische Forchung überhaupt nicht berücksichtigt wird.

¹⁸ Die Information verdanke ich Prof. A. Psilovikos(†), mit dem Hinweis, dass eine Untersuchung über die Entwicklung des Aliakmons-deltas schon im Gange ist.

¹⁹ Vgl. F. PAPAZOGLOU, a.a.O. (Anm. 8), S. 134 Anm. 63: "si devant la forte argumentation de M. Andronikos, on avait le droit de douter que les trouvailles de Vergina appartiennent à la necropole d'Aigai, c'est la position de celle-ci qui m'étonnerait le plus. Une capitale aussi proche de la mer et des villes maritimes de Méthonè et de Pydna, n'aurait-elle pas conditionné une evolution de l'ancienne Macédoine différente de celle que nous croyons lui connaitre?"

bringen, völlig scheiterte. Bei der Rückkehr nach Methone wurde er von dem plötzlich erschienenen Philipp geschlagen und zur Ergebung gezwungen²⁰.

Für die Lokalisierung der alten makedonischen Hauptstadt hat die Diodorstelle, wie man beim ersten Blick feststellt, eine sehr geringe Aussagekraft: Über den Ort, wo Philipp sich befand, seinen Anmarsch gegen Argaios und das Schlachtfeld, wird nichts gesagt. Die von Hammond befürwortete Verbindung mit der Theophraststelle ist (wegen des problematischen Charakters dieser) sehr fraglich ebenso wie seine Annahme, Aigai müsse in der Nähe von Methone gelegen haben, denn so sei die ganze Unternehmung des Argaios verständlich (in dem Sinne, so Hammond, dass seine Rückkehr an einem Tag möglich gewesen wäre, worüber in der Diodorstelle nichts gesagt wird²¹). Die innere Wahrscheinlichkeit spricht dagegen: Dass Argaios den Anmarsch nach Aigai unternommen hat, setzt voraus, dass Philipp sich in einer erheblicher Entfernung von Methone befand (das Gegenteil hätte ja Argaios genauer: der athenische General, der nach dem Wortlaut des Textes den makedonischen Kronprätendenten nach Aigai geschickt hat, von den Athenern in Methone erfahren); das macht das Eingreifen des Königs gegen den Kronprätendenten schwer vorstellbar, wenn die Entfernung zwischen Methone und Aigai so kurz gewesen wäre, wie Hammond (bei der Lokalisierung des letzteren in Vergina) meint²². Brauchbar könnte die

²⁰ Diodor XVI 2.5-6: Μαντίας δ'ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς καταπλεύσας εἰς Μεθώνην αὐτὸς μὲν ἐνταῦθα κατέμεινε, τὸν Ἀργαῖον δὲ μετὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰγὰς ἀπέστειλεν. οὗτος δὲ προσελθὼν τῇ πόλει παρεκάλει τοὺς ἐν Αἰγαῖς προσδέξασθαι τὴν κάθοδον καὶ γενέσθαι τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἀρχηγούς. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτῷ προσέχοντος ὁ μὲν ἀνέκαμπτεν εἰς τὴν Μεθώνην, ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἐπιφανεῖς μετὰ στρατιωτῶν καὶ συνάψας μάχην πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνείλε τῶν μισθοφόρων, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς εἰς τινα λόφον καταφυγόντας ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκεν, λαβὼν παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκδότους τοὺς φυγάδας. Φίλιππος μὲν οὖν ταύτην πρώτην μάχην νικήσας εὐθαρσετέρους ἐποίησε τοὺς Μακεδόνας πρὸς τοὺς ἐφεξῆς ἀγῶνας.

²¹ Diese Annahme Hammonds ist offenbar durch den Gedanken bestimmt, dass Argaios einen längeren Einmarsch in das Innere Makedoniens nicht gewagt hätte; dabei wird m.E. die Tatsache ausser acht gelassen, dass der Einmarsch in den ersten Monaten der Regierungszeit Philipps stattfand, in den der König auch von äusseren Feinden (Illyrern, Paeonen und Thrakern) bedroht wurde (K.J. BELOCH, *Gr. Gesch.* III 1², S. 225 mit den Quellenangaben; F. GEYER, *Makedonien bis zur Thronbesteigung Philipps II*, München 1930, S. 139).

²² Das oben zitierte Diodorzeugnis verbindet Hammond erst in seiner Argumentation von 1972 (s. o. Anm. 11) mit der in der Inschrift IG IV 617 (Spendeliste aus Argos, Ende des 4. Jh. v.Chr) erhaltenen Ortsliste and meint, es stehe "in accordance" mit ihr "because in a list of names moving from Thessaly into Macedonia Aegeae precedes Edessa. It is situated on an Macedonian military road and the deliberate destruction of its fortifications

Diodorstelle m.E. nur im Vergleich zu anderen Zeugnissen, wo Unternehmungen mit ähnlichen politischen Zielen wie jene des Argaios erwähnt werden (s. unten, Kap. V).

III. LITERARISCHE GEGENINSTANZEN: DIODOR XII 11.2; PLUTARCH, *PYRRHOS* 26.11

Bis zu der grossen Entdeckung des J. 1977 blieb die Theorie Hammonds, soweit ich weiss, völlig unbeachtet. Andronikos, der, wie erwähnt, in der Palastmonographie vom Jahre 1961 Vergina mit Valla indentifizierte (später freilich Zweifel darüber äusserte, s.o. Anm. 9) griff sie positiv auf und benutzte sie als wichtige Stütze für seine anfangs als “Arbeitshypothese”, öfter jedoch als “Überzeugung” vorgebrachte Auffassung, der Tote des Hauptgrabes sei der makedonische König Philipp II. Andronikos’ Auffassung war begreiflicherweise Hammond sehr willkommen: Für den Historiker

as those of a royal city was probably carried out by the Romans after their victory in the battle of Pydna. I propose therefore to identify Aegeae with the site of Palatitsa” [*A History of Macedonia*, I, S. 158]. Die von Hammond gemeinte Übereinstimmung kann ich nicht verstehen. Die Ortsliste der Inschrift von Argos ist so aufgebaut, dass sie nicht als Argument für die Reihenfolge der anschliessend genannten makedonischen Städte gebraucht werden kann: (1) Pharsalos, (2) Larisa, (3) Atrax, (4) (Stadtname nicht erhalten), (5) Kierion, (6) (Stn. n. erh.), (7) (Stn. n. erh.), (8) Gomfoi, (9) Pelinna, (10) Phalanna, (11) Homolion, (12) Gonnoi, (13) (Stn. n. erh.). Eine geographische ‘Ordnung’ in dieser Reihenfolge ist mir nicht ersichtlich (vgl. F. PAPAZOGLU, a.a.O. (Anm. 8), S. 42 Anm. 18): die Liste läuft erst in nördlicher Richtung (1-2), dann in südwestlicher (2-5), weiter in westlicher (5-8), dann in nordöstlicher (8-11). In der darauffolgenden Liste der makedonischen Städte werden folgende Städte angeführt: (1) ἐξ Αἰ]γεῶν (2) E----- (3) ἐξ Ἐδέσσης (4) Ἀταλ]ανταῖοι (5) Εὐρωπαῖοι (6) [-----] (7) [-----] (8) Κα[σσανδρεῖς (9) Φι]λιππεῖς (10) [-----] (11) [-----]. Davon abgesehen, dass die Ergänzung Αἰ]γεῶν (von Foucart) zwar als wahrscheinlich, jedoch nicht als völlig sicher zu erachten ist (so mit Recht F. PAPAZOGLU, a.a.O., S. 133 Anm. 56), kann die geographische “Priorität” der Stadt gegenüber Edessa aufgrund der thessalischen Ortsliste der Inschrift aus Argos im Sinne Hammonds (so auch M. ZAHRT, *Die Entwicklung des makedonischen Reiches bis zu den Perserkriegen*, *Chiron* 14 [1984], S. 355 Anm. 97) nicht erwiesen werden; die Liste kann m.E. auch nicht als Parallele zu den Theorodokenliste *BCH* 45 (1921), S. 17, III, 51-80 (mit Aufzeichnung von Namen von 22 makedonischen Städten mit Erwähnung von Edessa –Z. 60 – nicht aber Aigai) verwenden werden (so P. PERLMAN, *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece. The Theorodokia in the Peloponnese* [*Hypomnemata* 121], Göttingen 2000, S. 127f.). Zu der jetzt verschollenen Inschrift s. ferner W. DITTENBERGER, *Hermes* 7 (1873), S. 63ff. (über die Geldangaben) und PRELLWITZ (*SGDI* 3286) mit der Bemerkung Foucart: “Peut-être [ἐξ Αἰ]γεῶν pour Αἰγών, de Αἰγαί, que certains auteurs distinguent d’Edessa”. Näheres dazu s. unten, Kap. 5.

müsste Aigai mit Vergina identisch sein, weil neben der Theophrast- und Diodorstelle auch das neu entdeckte königliche Grab dafür sprach; für den Archäologen müsste das Grab königlich sein, weil Vergina die alte makedonische Hauptstadt war.

Bei der Diskussion über die Datierung der Gräber sind von Andronikos und anderen zwei literarische Zeugnisse (eine Diodorstelle aus dem 22. Buch und eine Plutarchsstelle aus der Pyrrhos-Vita) herangezogen worden, die trotz ihrer Bedeutung m.W. nicht in der gebührenden Weise ausgewertet wurden, offenbar aus dem Grund, dass sie gegen die Identifizierung des Toten mit Philipp bzw. der Identifizierung von Vergina mit Aigai sprachen.

In beiden Stellen wird von der Zerstörung der königlichen Gräber von Aigai durch keltischen Söldner berichtet, die Pyrrhos nach einem Sieg gegen Antigonos Gonatas in J. 274 v.Chr.²³ in der alten makedonischen Hauptstadt stationieren liess. In der ersten (XXII 11.12) heisst es,

die Galater hätten von einigen Einheimischen erfahren, in den königlichen Gräbern wären nach einer alten Sitte reichliche Beigaben eingegraben und darauf hin hätten sie alle (ἅπαντας) Gräber ausgeraubt und die Beigaben unter sich verteilt; trotz der Entrüstung, die Pyrrhos wegen dieser Freveltat auf sich zog, habe er die Barbaren nicht bestraft, weil er sie für den Krieg brauchte²⁴.

²³ Plutarch, *Pyrrhos* 26.3-10. Zur Frage nach der Lokalisierung des Schlachtfeldes (bei Plutarch heisst es: περὶ τὰ Στενὰ προσπεσόν, sc. Pyrrhos) s. W.W. TARN, der an der Aoospas, an der Grenze Makedoniens denkt (*Antigonos Gonatas*, Oxford 1913 [1969], S. 264 mit Anm. 15; ihm folgend P. LÉVÊQUE, *Pyrrhos*, Paris 1957, S. 562, gegen K.J. BELOCH, *Gr. Gesch.* IV 1², 1925, S. 573 Anm. 1, der den Ort der Schlacht in Thessalien setzt). Hammond hält es für wahrscheinlicher "a position further east inside Makedonia", im heutigen Kleisoura, östlich von Kastoria (*A History of Macedonia*, III, 1988, S. 261). Vom weiteren Verlauf der Operationen wird im Bericht erwähnt, Pyrrhos habe eine Reihe von Städten erobert (die mit Ausnahme von Aigai [s.u.] nicht genannt werden), μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς ἀνελάμβανε τὰς πόλεις; der zurückweichende Antigonos habe einige — ebenfalls nicht genannte — Küstenstädte behalten können (κακεῖνος μὲν ὑποφεύγων ὁμῶς τῶν παραλίων τινὰς πόλεων κατέσχευεν). Wenn die im Gebiet des heutigen Vergina liegende antike Stadt, wie erwähnt, sehr nahe am Meer lag, so dürfte auch sie zu diesen Städten gehört haben; das bedeutet, dass Aigai irgendwoanders zu suchen ist, höchstwahrscheinlich in einem für Pyrrhos (und überhaupt) strategisch viel wichtigeren Gebiet im Inneren Makedoniens (s. u. Anm.).

²⁴ Diodor XXII 11.2: "Ὅτι τὰς Αἰγέας διαρπάσας Πύρρος, ἥτις ἦν ἐστία τῆς Μακεδονικῆς βασιλείας, τοὺς Γαλάτας ἐκεῖσε κατέλιπεν. οἱ δὲ πυθόμενοι τινῶν ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς τάφους τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι συγκατωρύχθη χρήματα πολλὰ κατὰ τινα παλαιὰν συνθήειαν, ἅπαντας ἀνέσκαψαν, καὶ τυμβωρυχίσαντες τὰ μὲν χρήματα διείλοντο, τὰ δὲ ὅσῃ τῶν τετελευτηκότων διέρριψαν. ὁ δὲ Πύρρος ἐπὶ τοῦτοις βλασφημούμενος οὐκ ἐκόλαζε τοὺς βαρβάρους διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις χρείας.

Ähnlich klingt der Bericht bei Plutarch bis auf zwei stilistische Unterschiede: Der erste ist, dass das W. *ἅπαντας* fehlt, der zweite, dass das Verhalten des Pyrrhos durch weniger scharfe Formulierungen beurteilt wird²⁵. Beide Berichte gehen offensichtlich auf eine gemeinsame Quelle zurück, die, wie man in der Forschung einstimmig annimmt, der über die makedonische Verhältnisse jener Zeit gut informierte Freund der Antigoniden Hieronymos von Kardia gewesen sein muss²⁶. Für die hier angeestellte Erörterung hat sein Zeugnis eine begreiflichenweise grosse Bedeutung: wenn alle Gräber der makedonischen Könige von den Kelten ausgeraubt worden sind, dann kann der Tote des intakt gefundenen Hauptgrabes von Vergina nicht Philipp II. gewesen sein und die alte makedonische Hauptstadt muss in einem anderen Ort gesucht werden. Dazu könnte man vielleicht auch bemerken, dass, wenn das Grab Philipps II. intakt geblieben wäre, eine diesbezügliche Erwähnung in den Quellen (Diodor und Plutarch, aber auch Justin und anderen) nicht gefehlt hätte²⁷.

²⁵ Plutarch, *Pyrrhos* 26.11-13: τῶν δὲ Αἰγαίων κρατήσας τὰ τ' ἄλλα χαλεπῶς ἐχρήσατο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ φρουρὰν Γαλατικὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει κατέλιπε τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατευομένων. οἱ δὲ Γαλάται, γένος ἀπληστότατον χρημάτων ὄντες, ἐπέθεντο τῶν βασιλέων αὐτόθι κεκηδευμένων τοὺς τάφους ὀρύττειν, καὶ τὰ μὲν χρήματα διήρπασαν, τὰ δ' ὅσα πρὸς ὕβριν διέρριψαν. τοῦτο κούφως ἔδοξε καὶ ὀλιγώρως ἐνεγκεῖν ὁ Πύρρος, ἢ δι' ἀσχολίας τινὰς ὑπερθέμενος, ἢ παρὲς ὅλως διὰ φόβον τὸ κολάσαι τοὺς βαρβάρους· ὅθεν ἤκουσε κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων.

²⁶ P. LÉVÊQUE, a.a.O. (Anm. 23), S. 565 Anm. 5. Vgl. F. JACOBY, Art. *Hieronimos*, *RE* xx (1913), Sp. 1556. Die Provenienz der Zeugnisse aus dem Geschichtswerk des Hieronymos verrät der Passus des Pausanias (I 9.7-8), wo dem Historiker die "unglaubliche" Nachricht von der Schändung der Gräber der Vorfahren des Pyrrhos durch Lysimachos bei dessen Einfall in Epirus zugeschrieben wird (τὴν τε ἄλλην ἐλεηλάτησεν Ἡπειρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς θήκας ἦλθε τῶν βασιλέων. τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἐμοὶ ἐστὶν οὐ πιστά, Ἰερώνυμος δὲ ἔγραψε Καρδιανὸς Λυσίμαχον τὰς θήκας τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνελόντα τὰ ὅσα ἐκρίψαι). Die böswillige Erfindung wird von Pausanias auf die Voreingenommenheit des Historikers zurückgeführt; sie wird damit erklärt, dass der König die Heimatstadt des Hieronymos zerstört und an ihrer Stelle Lysimacheia gegründet habe (8). Dass hier eine Verwechslung mit der später geschehenen Schändung der Gräber von Aigai durch die Kelten des Pyrrhos vorliegt, ist deutlich und wird mit Recht von Lévêque (a.a.O., S. 171) bemerkt.

²⁷ Der Nachklang der Entrüstung, die die Schändung der Gräber in Aigai verursacht hat, ist, nach einer zutreffenden Beobachtung von Tarn (*Antigonos Gonatas*, S. 237 mit Anm. 53), in einer Schrift des zeitgenössischen, zu dem Kreis des Antigonos gehörenden Philosophen Bion des Borystheniten zu erblicken, die der kynische Wanderprediger Teles aus Megara für seine *Diatriba* Περὶ πενίας exzerpiert hat. Das Exzerpt lautet: οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτοὶ πολλῆς ἐπάρχοντες καὶ προσόδους μεγάλας ἔχοντες οὐδὲν ἥττον σπανίζουσιν, ὥστε καὶ τυμβωρυχεῖν καὶ ἱεροσυλεῖν (Teles, *Ausg.* von Heinse, 1909, 43); s. auch P. LÉVÊQUE, a.a.O. (Anm. 23), S. 569.

Wenn der Bericht Diodors bzw. Plutarchs von Andronikos bzw. Hammond herangezogen wird, dann wird, wie erwähnt, merkwürdigerweise auf diese notorische Aussage nicht eingegangen. Man stellt nur die Frage, wie das Philipp II. zugewiesene Grab erhalten sein kann — eine Frage, die man im Zusammenhang mit der Datierung des darauf gelegenen Tumulus in unterschiedlicher Weise zu beantworten versucht:

- Hammond meint, der Tumulus habe vor der Einquartierung der Kelten bestanden und sei von Lysimachos während seiner Regierungszeit in Makedonien (285-281 v.Chr.) gebaut. Seine Grösse (Durchmesser 110 m., Höhe 12 m.) sei der Grund dafür, dass die Kelten das Grab nicht finden und folglich ausplündern konnten²⁸.
- Nach Andronikos ist der Tumulus später, d.h. kurz nach der Befreiung von Aigai durch Antigonos Gonatas von ihm gebaut worden. Das Grab sei deshalb intakt geblieben, weil die Kelten schon aus den anderen Gräbern viel Gold gesammelt und damit sozusagen ihre Habgier gesättigt hätten²⁹.

²⁸ N.G.L. HAMMOND, *Philip's Tomb in Historical Context*, GRBS 19 (1978), S. 334-335: "If the Great Tumulus was there before 274 B.C., we can understand why the Gauls failed to find the unplundered tomb. Unable to dig down through so huge a mass, they evidently drove a horizontal tunnel from the edge, as Daumet did without using props in a similar tumulus, and found the hieron and the first tomb; but being on a different line, they missed the second tomb. In making this suggestion I am at variance with the preliminary view of Andronikos, that the broken *stelai* were brought from burials elsewhere and became part of the fill, and that the Great Tumulus was therefore built after 274 B.C. His current excavations many solve this question". Ders., *The Macedonian State. Origins, Institutions and History*, Oxford 1989, S. 29-30: "The suggestion that the Great Tumulus was built in 285-281 is supported by the dating of numerous broken funerary headstones and reliefs which were found in the upper layers of the Great Mound. For they extend no later than the beginning of the third century. But there is a much stronger argument for the Great Mound having been completed before 274. In that year the Gallic mercenaries of Pyrrhus plundered the tombs of the kings at Aegeae. They must have known which tombs were where, and which tomb was likely to have the richest plunder, namely that of Philip II. The only explanation for their failure to rob that tomb is that Tomb 2 was too far into the Great Mound and too heavily overlaid by the Great Mound for them — and later tomb-robbers — to reach it. In my opinion we owe to Lysimachus as well as to Andronikos the treasures which these tombs have revealed to us".

²⁹ M. ANDRONIKOS, *The Tombs at the Great Tumulus at Vergina*, in: *Acta of the XI Intern. Congress of Classical Archaeology*, London 3-9 Sept. 1978, S. 50-51: "The first judgement that we are able to pronounce is that we have here a singularly important set of graves. My old theory this is possibly the site of the royal graves of Macedonia have received strong confirmation if not unshakeable proof; in any event there is no evidence militating against it. Observations made during excavation of the foundations of the destroyed building and of the pillaged tomb provide support for the theory about the Galatian destruction. The unhopd-for presence of an unravaged tomb does not create

Erstere Auffassung lässt die Frage nach dem Grund des Baues des Tumulus offen, letztere stösst gegen die menschliche Erfahrung: die keltischen Söldner hätten bestimmt nicht das wohl am reichsten ausgestattete Grab geschont, von dessen Stelle sie wahrscheinlich eine genaue Kunde gehabt haben könnten, da sie, wie bei Diodor berichtet (aber von Andronikos — im Gegensatz zu Hammond — ausser acht gelassen wird), schon vorher von Einheimischen die bezüglichen Informationen erhalten hätten.

IV. DER ARCHÄOLOGISCHE UND EPIGRAPHISCHE BEFUND

Das Hauptgewicht der Argumentation von Hammond und Andronikos fällt bezeichnenderweise auf die archäologischen Funde, namentlich jene des Hauptgrabes. Da eine ausführliche Darstellung hier unmöglich ist, bringe ich nur eine Auswahl vor, und zwar jene Funde, die von Andronikos als besonders beweiskräftig vorgebracht wurden.

1. Von der Annahme ausgehend, dass die im Grab gefundenen kleinen Köpfe aus Elfenbein als Porträts erachtet werden sollten, identifizierte Andronikos zwei von ihnen mit Philipp II und Alexander dem Gr. (und zwar mit Sicherheit), drei weitere (mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit) mit Olympias, sowie Amyntas und Eurydike (den Eltern Philipps)³⁰. Von der

insuperable difficulties because it is reasonable to assume that the pillagers, whether common grave robbers of Galatian mercenaries, opened the chamber grave, found the extremely rich offerings (most of which must have been of gold, if the grave was of a woman as seems probable) and were highly satisfied with the booty from the tomb concealed by the mound. Acting on the basis of past experience, they thought that they had exhausted the possibilities of the mound and turned their attention to another mound”.

³⁰ M. ANDRONIKOS, *The Tombs*, a.a.O., S. 48f.: “The parts of ivory figures (PLATE 17) found amongst the other remains just in front of the marble sarcophagus are of exceptional interest. There were hands, feet and heads of small human figures in relief (and they are still there, in place). They must belong to a composition which was either on the kline itself or from another piece of furniture such as a chest or the like. ... Although we had noticed the ivory figures on the first day, I had no time for a close look at them until all the other emergencies in the tomb had been dealt with. In one corner I noticed two hands, not much larger than 1 cm., of fine workmanship. Close by was a head somewhat obscured by the various disintegrated substances. When I picked it up I saw that it was the head of a grown bearded man (PLATE 16a) whose features were not unfamiliar. I was sure that it was a portrait. Philip II came to mind, his portrait as we know it from the famous Tarsus medallion (Ἰστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους IV, 15). The powerful but somewhat weary face with the almost imperceptibly damaged right eye is a portrait by a very great artist. ... There were two other small heads nearly. When I picked up one of the two I was greatly astonished, astonished bordering on a state of shock. It was Alexander (PLATE 16b), the best portrait I know of the eighteen-year-old youth with his long stretched-out neck, the slight energetic turn of the

auf dem Vergleich mit viel späteren Kunstwerken beruhenden Argumentation kann hier abgesehen werden, für die weitere Diskussion bemerkenswert sind m.E. folgende Daten, Informationen und Gegenpositionen aus der bisherigen (mir bekannten) Forschung: (a) Die Anzahl der im Grab gefundenen Köpfe von Gestalten, die zur Ausschmückung des Totenbettes dienten, ist viel grösser: In seinem Vergina-Buch (1984) erwähnt Andronikos vierzehn, mit dem Hinweis auf den problematischen Erhaltungszustand der (nicht publizierten) sieben von ihnen³¹; nach einer mündlichen Aussage desselben (im J. 1978), die von der Archäologin Ph.W. Lehman zitiert wird, sollen sie mehr als zwanzig sein³². (b) Köpfe aus Elfenbein sind übrigens auch in anderen makedonischen Gräbern gefunden³³, so dass ein plausibles Urteil nur nach einer eingehenden

head and the eyes looking upwards which we know about from the written sources and the faint echoes of Roman copies. At first I thought that the second small head found near Alexander was a second portrait of him but later I came to think that it was a woman's head (PLATE 17, extreme left), most likely his mother, Olympias". Vgl. ders., *Vergina. The Royal Tombs*, Athen 1985 [2004], S. 122ff., Abb. 77-86. [Übersetzung der griechischen Ausgabe mit der Titel: *Βεργίνα. Οἱ βασιλικοὶ τάφοι καὶ ἄλλες ἀρχαιότητες*, Athen 1984, S. 121ff.] und *Οἱ βασιλικοὶ τάφοι τῶν Αἰγῶν (Βεργίνας)*, in: L. LOUKOPOULOU – M. HATZOPOULOS (Hrsg.), *Φίλιππος. Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων* (Aufsatzsammlung mit Beiträgen von verschiedenen Autoren), Athen 1980, S. 212ff., Abb. 115-119].

³¹ M. ANDRONIKOS, *Vergina* (Anm. 9), S. 129: "Fourteen portrait heads have survived; at least seven of these are preserved in very good condition though none has its hair; this means that the hair was probably rendered in some other perishable material. I imagine that it may been gilded, an opinion based on the very slight remaining traces and on the ivories of the third tomb. Its absence some what alters the faces and demands considerable efforts of imagination on the part of the viewer to reconstruct their original appearance".

³² S.P.W. LEHMAN, *The So-called Tomb of Philip II: A Different Interpretation*, *AJA* 84 (1980), S. 528 mit Anm. 13: "Additional heads of the same type and scale exist in the apothek at Vergina. I observed this fact on the occasion of my visit to the temporary storeroom on October 20, 1978, when I and other scholars had the great privilege of observing the chamber tomb, the royal tomb, and the apothek in the company of Professor Andronikos. According to Andronikos most recent statement, more than 20 of these heads have been found". E.A. FREDRICKSMEYER, *Again the So-called Tomb of Philip II*, *AJA* 85 (1981), S. 332 mit Anm. 6: "In none of the earlier publications had there been a hint that more than the original five heads were found in the tomb and this is true even of the article by K. Bouton [Royal Treasure Trove, *Quest*/80, The Pursuit of Excellence 4, Nov. 1980, 26-31, 91-93]; cf. the report (anon.) in *Life* of July 1980, p. 48, according to which Andronikos found five heads and identified them as these of Philip, Olympias, Alexander and Philips parents... Yet Lehman had noted the existence of additional heads already in October 1978. We look on these elusive proliferating heads...". Vgl. ferner, K. NINOU (Hrsg.), *Alexander the Great. History and Legend in Art*, Arch. Museum of Thessalonike, 1980, S. 15 und M. ANDRONIKOS, *Vergina*, a.a.O. (Anm. 9), S. 124.

³³ s. M. TSIBIDOU-AVLONITI, *Λάρνακ' ἐς ἀργυρέην*, in: *Μύρτος. Μελέτες στὴ μνήμη τῆς Ἰουλίας Βοκοτοπούλου*, Thessaloniki 2000, S. 545-575 (Bericht über das von der

(umfassenden) Untersuchung dieses ganzen Materials und mit Berücksichtigung der einschlägigen Forschung möglich sein kann³⁴. (c) Davon abgesehen sind allerdings schon früher (m.E. stichhaltige) Argumente gegen die Interpretation von Andronikos geäußert worden: So hielt man z.B. für wenig wahrscheinlich, dass Alexander Porträts von ihm selbst und seiner ebenfalls lebenden Mutter anfertigen und zur Verzierung eines Totenbettes verwenden liess³⁵, oder dass die Anfertigung von mehreren solchen Porträts innerhalb der von Andronikos angenommenen sehr kurzen Zeit zwischen dem Tode Philipps und seiner Beerdigung auf praktische Probleme stieß; ferner weist die Gestaltung des Alexanderkopfes auf einen Stil hin, der erheblich später als 336 v.Chr. entwickelt ist³⁶.

2. Keinen Beweis für die Identität des Toten des Hauptgrabes kann auch die unter Spezialisten der Anthropologie geführte Diskussion über die Frage liefern, ob in dessen erhaltenen Überresten Spuren von Wunden

Verfasserin entdeckte Grab in Hagios Athanasios, 20 Km. w. von Thessaloniki. Der in diesem Grab gefundene Kopf aus Elfenbein weist eine ziemlich deutliche Ähnlichkeit mit dem sog. Portrait Alexanders aus Vergina auf (s. S. 565 mit Abb. Nr. 15). Über weitere Funde (mit der einschlägigen Literatur), M. TSIBIDOU, a.a.O., S. 566.

³⁴ s. B.R.W. HARTLE, *The Search for Alexander's Portrait*, in: W.L. ADAMS – E. BORZA (Hrsg.), *Philip II, Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Heritage*, Washington 1982, S. 168 ff., und M.M. LESNITSKAYA, *A Contribution to the Specifics of the Greek portrait of the Fourth Century B.C.*, VDI 192.1 (1990), S.156-160 (russisch mit englischer Zusammenfassung, S. 159-160).

³⁵ F. PAPAZOGLU, a.a.O. (Anm. 8), S. 134 Anm. 63: "A mon sens, indépendamment du style, les portraits en ivoire du defunt et des membres de sa famille vivants, employés comme décoration du lit (ou d'un autre objet en bois) sont un élément difficile à admettre dans une tombe. Je trouve de même inconcevable qu'Alexandre et ses amis soient représentés dans une tombe de leur vivant (dans la scène de la chasse au lion). Mais ce sont là des détails qui trouveront peut-être un jour leur explication".

³⁶ B.R.W. HARTLE, *The Search for Alexander's Portrait*, *AncW* 4 (1981), S. 84: "The search for Alexander's portrait is a continuing one because scholars disagree on what to look for. Some admit supposed portraits into the canon too easily, while others say we can never know what he looked like. The latter attitude resembles twentieth-century scientism more than the Hellenistic spirit. Three apotheosized portraits of Alexander are examined, plus one unpublished portrait in Egypt. The portrait found in Vergina Tomb II confirms the traditional view of Alexander's appearance, but presents stylistic problems because Alexander is represented in a style that, until now, was thought to have evolved considerably after 336. If the tomb is Philip's and was constructed in haste, the rapid sculpting of some twenty individual portraits found therein also presents practical problems. The style of the tiny Vergina portrait cannot support the attribution of the tomb to Philip, but, if the tomb should be securely dated, the accepted chronology of Alexander iconography would be in doubt"; ders., a.a.O. (Anm. 34), S. 153, 169 [wo deren Herstellung einige Jahre vor dem Begräbnis des Arridaïos (316 v.Chr.) vermutet wird]. Ähnlich P. GREEN, *The Search of Alexander's Portrait*, in: W.L. ADAMS – E. BORZA, a.a.O. (Anm. 34), S. 173.

zu erkennen sind; aufgrund einer solchen, an der Stelle des rechten Auges vermuteten, bzw. als sicher angenommenen Wunde, konnte einer dieser Spezialisten behaupten, dies sei das "stärkste Argument" für die Identifizierung des Toten mit Philipp II³⁷. Ausgegangen ist die Diskussion bekanntlich von dem durch Didymos überlieferten Zeugnis Theopomps über die Verwundung Philipps während der Belagerung von Methone im J. 353 v.Chr.³⁸ Auch über die Identität der Person des Vorraumes kann die anthropologische Forchung kein zwingendes Argument liefern³⁹.

3. Die von Andronikos, Hammond und anderen geäußerte Auffassung, das im Grab gefundene Kopfband sei ein vom makedonischen

³⁷ A.J.N.W. PRAG – J.H. MUSGRAVE – R.A.H. NEAVE, *The Skull from Tomb II at Vergina: King Philip II of Macedon*, *JHS* 104 (1984), S. 60-78: S. 76: "However, the injury around the eye provides the strongest argument that the body in Tomb II at Vergina is indeed that of Philip II" (A. Prag). Vgl. J. MUSGRAVE, ebd. S. 65: "I can see no harm therefore in professing to cautious optimism that the bones from this great gold larnax did belong to Philip II. The anatomical evidence cannot be said to be conclusive but the variations from the norm suggest to me that in life, rather than in death, this skull may have had injuries inflicted on it similar to those Philip is recorded to have suffered". Vgl. auch J. MUSGRAVE, *Dust and Damn'd Oblivion: A Study of Cremation in Ancient Greece*, *ABSA* 85 (1990), S. 271-299, Vergina, S. 274-282. Zu den Schwierigkeiten der Identifizierung und überhaupt der Problematik des ganzen Sachverhaltes s. u. Anm. 39.

³⁸ Didymus Chalcenterus, Hrsg. Diels-Schubart, Berlin 1904, col. 43: περὶ μὲν γὰρ τὴν Μεθώνης πολιορκίαν τὸν δεξιὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐξεκόπη τοξεύματι πληγείς, ἐν ᾧ τὰ μηχανήματα καὶ τὰς χαστρίδας λεγομένας ἐφεώρα, καθάπερ ἐν τῇ δ' τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν ἱστοριῶν ἀφηγεῖται Θεόπομπος· οἷς καὶ Μαρσύας ὁ Μακεδὼν ὁμολογεῖ: Theopompos, *FGrHist* 115, F52. Vgl. Demosth. XVIII 67; Diod. XVI 34.5; A. PRAG, *JHS* 104 (1984), S. 79 Anm. 38. Die Identifizierung des Vergina-Kopfes mit Philip wird von A.L.N. OIKONOMIDES bestritten, mit dem Argument, dass er sich erheblich vom Marmorkopf des Königs des Chicagomuseums unterscheidet (*Coin World International*, 9. September 1981, S. 97ff., 28 April 1982, S. 33ff. [bei A. PRAG, a.a.O., S. 72 Anm. 31; mir nicht zugänglich]; s. ders. in *AncW* 4 (1981) S. 84: *Philip II, Khnum-Ammon and Alexanders Mint at Alexandria*: In dem Kopf (Nr. 26749, Höhe 19 cm) erkennt Oikonomides das erste uns bekannte Portrait Philipps und gibt folgende Beschreibung: "The portrait is of a middle-aged man with a short beard and moustache, with Ammon's ram horns visible in his straight hair. His head inclines slightly to the right and has only one eye, the left one. In the right eye-socket the sculptor shows only a healed wound in place of an obviously missing right eye". Gegen die Identifizierung des Vergina-Kopfes mit Philipp s. auch J.P. BRECKENRIDGE, *A Missing Eye*, *AncW* 20 (1989), S. 3-4.

³⁹ Die einschlägige Untersuchung von N. XIROTIRIS – F. LANGENSCHIEDT, *The Cremations from the Royal Macedonian Tombs of Vergina*, *AE* 1981 (1983), S. 142-159, wird mit folgendem Ergebnis abgeschlossen: "In conclusion it can be stated that the methods of skeletal aging and sexing are not yet developed to its optimum. The investigation of cremations in this respect is, as already pointed out, additionally problematic" (S. 144); "Through the anthropological analysis of the cremated remains no clear proof can be introduced that the remains are those of Philip II, respectively Cleopatra. Nevertheless the examination results offer no argument against the hypothesis, on the contrary, the hypothesis is supported by the age and sex determinations (S. 158).

König getragenes Diadem⁴⁰, wird aufgrund der in der historischen Forschung als *communis opinio* geltenden Ansicht bestritten, dass es vor Alexander dem Grossen das Diadem als griechisches Königzeichen nicht existiert hat⁴¹.

4. Die vergleichende Untersuchung verschiedener Gegenstände (namentlich Vasen) der Gräber von Derveni und anderen Orten mit denjenigen der Vergina-gräber hat gezeigt, dass aufgrund von stilistischen Ähnlichkeiten jene wie diese in die Regierungszeit Kassanders zu datieren bzw. sogar von derselben Werkstatt hergestellt worden sind⁴²; der

⁴⁰ M. ANDRONIKOS, *Vergina* (Anm. 9), S. 171-175 ("The royal diadem"); ders., *The Tombs*, a.a.O. (Anm. 29), s. 46; N.G.L. HAMMOND, *Philip's Tomb*, *GRBS* 19 (1978), S. 335 mit Anm. 17; W.M. GALDER, *Diadem and Barrel Vault*, *AJA* 85 (1981), S. 334-335; ders., *Golden Diadems Again*, *AJA* 87 (1983), S. 102-103; E.A. FREDRICKSMEYER, *Again the So-called Tomb of Philip II*, *AJA* 85 (1981), S. 330-334; *Once More the Diadem and Barrel-Vault at Vergina*, *AJA* 87 (1983), S. 99-102.

⁴¹ H.W. RITTER, *Diadem und Königsherrschaft* (*Vestigia*, Bd. 7), München 1965, S. 31-41; ders., *Zum sogenannten Diadem des Philippgrabes*, *AA* (1984), S. 105-111; Ph.W. LEHMANN, *The So-called Tomb of Philip II: A Different Interpretation*, *AJA* 84 (1980), S. 529ff.; A.M. PRESTIANI GIALLOMBARTO, *Il diadema di Vergina e l'iconografia di Filippo II*, *Ancient Macedonia* 4 (1983) [1986], S. 497-509. Eine Untersuchung, durch welche Ritter's Argumentation widerlegt wird, ist mir nicht bekannt, eine weiterführende Arbeit über das makedonische Diadem, die Fredricksmeyer (*AJA* 85, 1981, S. 333) für nötig hielt, kenne ich auch nicht. Deshalb ist es mit vagen Vermutungen, wie "probably the Macedonian kings before Alexander wore the diadem only occasionally" (Fredricksmeyer, ebd., Anm. 18), oder "some forms of headbands seem to have been associated with the Macedonian monarchy before Philip II's reign" (E. BORZA, *A. News* 10, 4, 1981, S. 78), wie Ritter, sie zitierend bemerkt, nicht weiter zu kommen.

⁴² P. THEMELIS – J. TOURATSOGLOU, *Οἱ τάφοι τοῦ Δεφβενίου*, Athen 1997, S. 217: "The high relief heads in the kalykes: from the cist grave in Oreokastro Street at Stavroupolis, Thessaloniki, from Macedonian tomb II at Vergina (Vergina 1984, 212, figs. 179-180), tomb 2 in the "Pappas" tumulus at Sevasti in Pieria and tomb Δ in the Nikisiani tumulus, all have shared stylistic and technical characteristics that are enough to ascribe them to the same workshop, if not to the same craftsman (metalworker 1, workshop A = M1A). The characteristics in question may be described as follows: a pronounced plasticity verging on working in the round, relatively short, broad head's proportions, pronounced zygomatic bones and hollows around the eyes and mouth, clear use of the punch with deep incision (on the nostrils, the edges of the lips and between the nose and upper lip), bottom eyelid of equal thickness to the top, glance in a specific direction, and a generally happy mood indicated by the slightly upturned lips and intense gaze, and also by the turn and tilt of the head (Fig. 46). All the works mentioned above are excellent examples of minor art, suffused with the strongly realistic trends of the early Hellenistic Period. These same trends can be observed emphasized in the small ivory heads from the decoration of the couch in Macedonian tomb II at Vergina". Zum gleichen Resultat kommt auch O.V. NEVEROV in seinem Aufsatz *The Finds in the Large Tumulus in Vergina and the Problems of the Toreutics of the Early Hellenistic Period*, *VDI* 192.1 (1990), S. 161-166, russisch mit englischer Zusammenfassung, S. 166: "The discovery of the royal burials in Vergina (Macedonia) has enlivened discussion of the re-evaluation of traditional views on

Genitiv *Μαχάτα* in dem Sieb des Grabes II von Vergina bedeutet nicht den Inhaber (wie Andronikos meinte, der ihn mit dem Schwager Philipps aus seiner ersten Frau Phila verband), sondern den Künstler⁴³. Der in den Funden manifestierte Reichtum, sowie das sog. „epische“ Bestattungsritual, haben keine zwingende Beweiskraft dafür, dass die Vergina-gräber königliche Gräber sind⁴⁴; und manche technische Unfertigkeiten des

the centres of the production of Hellenistic toreutics. The author suggests that many of the toreutic articles found in Steppe Scythia and the North Black Sea littoral, came from Macedonian craftsmen. It is suggested that the new finds from Vergina are no less interesting as well in the context of the cultural and historical conclusions. The toreutic objects and weapons constitute a stable set of diplomatic gifts and votive offerings, while the map of the finds corresponds to the most important stages of the eastern expansion of Macedonia and the Macedonian king's diplomatic contacts. The author points out the similarity of the heroicalness of the depictions of Alexander-Herakles from the finds in Vergina and Takhti-Sanghin (Southern Tajikistan). That is yet another argument for a later dating (after 317 B.C.) than that accepted by Prof. Andronikos for burials II of the Large Tumulus in Vergina" (s. die Abbildungen auf S. 164 and S. 165).

⁴³ P. THEMELIS – J. TOURATSOGLU, a.a.O., S. 216: "Vergina (tomb II). 1. Silver strainer no. 9 (weight 171.45 grams), on the rim, the dotted inscription: MAXATA ΔΔΔΔΙ (= 41 drachmas). The Macedonian name in the genitive on the strainer no. 9 from Vergina is of great interest. The fact that it is accompanied by an indication of the silver weight of the vessel supports the view that it is the name of a craftsman, rather than of the owner. Machatas is a non uncommon Macedonian name. A Hellenistic sculptor called Machatas is known from two inscribed statue bases made by him at Vonitsa in Akarnania (CIG 1794 a-b). The strainer weighs 171.45 grams, and the weight of 41 drachmas inscribed on it was probably, therefore, calculated on the basis of the Attic drachma of 4.18-4.35 grams, which was adopted at the time of Alexanders reform". Zu *Μαχάτας* s. M. ANDRONIKOS, *Vergina* (Anm. 9), S. 158, 2312, *The Tombs* (Anm. 29), a.a.O., S. 48. Der Auffassung von Andronikos folgend bemerkt D.W.J. GILL in seinem neuerdings veröffentlichten Aufsatz *Inscribed Silver Plate from Tomb II at Vergina* (*Hesperia* 77, 2008, S. 335-358): "Machatas was the name of a brother-in-law of Philip II; even if this identification is correct, however, the strainer could have entered the royal treasury and therefore have ended up in the grave of another king" (S. 341). Dieser 'andere König' soll Philip III Arrhidaïos gewesen sein (S. 345ff.). Auf die Gegenargumentation von Themelis-Touratsoglou, deren Buch er kennt (s. S. 336, 339) geht er nicht ein.

⁴⁴ P. THEMELIS – J. TOURATSOGLU, a.a.O. (Anm. 42), S. 202: "Andronikos (1977, 29, 42) Lehmann (AAA 14 (1981), 142) and other scholars have attempted to interpret the "epic" rituals associated with the cremation in Macedonia tomb II at Vergina exclusively in terms of their conviction that this was a royal burial, or have attributed them to the personal predilections of Cassander (for the burial of Arrhidaïos and Eurydice), who entertained a deep love for the Homeric poems. However, neither the "epic" funeral ritual, nor the wealth of the grave offerings in tomb II at Vergina, constitute incontrovertible evidence that these were royal burials. "Homeric type" funeral pyres, associated with very rich grave offerings, are to be found from at least as early as the 8th century B.C., either under the influence of the Homeric poems or independent of them, even on the periphery of the Greek world — in Crete for example. Behaviour in the face of death, as described and promoted in the epic tradition, continued to exercise an influence on beliefs about life after death at least until Hellenistic times".

Grabes II können ebenfalls nicht als Indiz für dessen hastigen Ausbau wegen eines gewaltsamen Todes seines Inhabers (d.h. eben die Ermordung Philipps) verwendet werden⁴⁵.

5. Aufschlussreich könnte m.E. die auf dem Totenbett des Vorraumes abgebildete Kampfszene aus einer Schlacht sein: man ist versucht, die zu Boden geworfenen Gestalten, offenbar Barbaren, mit den auf dem Sarkophag von Sidon abgebildeten Persern zu vergleichen und in der Abbildung eine Reminiskenz aus dem Asienfeldzug Alexanders des Grossen zu erblicken. Sie ist in der vor den Gräbern sich befindenden Ausstellung der Funde zu sehen, aber leider auch noch nicht publiziert⁴⁶.

Für den Historiker zeigt sich die ganze Problematik m.E. deutlich auch in der Diskussion über die im Vorraum des Hauptgrabes bestattene Person. Andronikos identifizierte sie mit Kleopatra, der vornehmen Makedonin, deren Heirat mit Philipp im Jahre 337 v.Chr. bekanntlich eine schwere Krise im Königshaus auslöste, die mit der Ermordung des Königs endete⁴⁷; das kann kaum wahrscheinlich sein, u.a. deshalb, weil Alexander, der nach Andronikos die Bestattung seines Vaters besorgte, aus Rücksicht auf Olympias Kleopatra nicht neben seinem Vater hat bestatten lassen wollen⁴⁸.

⁴⁵ P. THEMELIS – J. TOURATSOGLU, a.a.O. (Anm. 42), S. 200: "Between the time of death and that of burial there was in any case an interval long enough to permit the plastering and drying of the tomb. It thus seems that the hasty, incomplete coat of plaster in the chamber of Macedonian tomb II at Vergina is not connected with the supposed violent death of the occupant of the tomb, and can not be constructed as a circumstance capable of historical interpretation. In the Macedonian "Tomb of the Judgement" at Lefkadia, too, the remains of jewellery were discovered stuck to the fresh plaster. It is always possible, of course, that the "freshness" of the plaster that is sometimes observed in tombs, both cist graves and Macedonian tombs, especially around the edge of the floor, is a later symptom, and is due to the continual absorption of damp from the ground".

⁴⁶ Exponat-Vitrine Nr. 161. In den Gesichtern der Barbaren ist deutlich die Angst vor dem nahestehenden Tod durch die angreifenden Reiter; die bekleideten Körperteile sind nicht erhalten, offenbar deshalb, weil sie, im Gegensatz zu den elfenbeinern Köpfen, aus (vergoldeten) Holz hergestellt waren.

⁴⁷ M. ANDRONIKOS, *The Tombs* (Anm. 29), S. 48: "The line of thought which leads to the conclusion that the burial in the main chamber belongs to Philip II leaves the identification of the burial in the antechamber open. If the bones in the second larnax are a woman's bones, as the diadem found with them and, perhaps, also the sumptuous brocade lead us to suppose, then the most likely explanation would be that it is the grave of Kleopatra, Philip's last wife". Ders., *Vergina* (Anm. 9), S. 231.

⁴⁸ W.L. ADAMS, *The Royal Macedonian Tomb at Vergina: an Historical Interpretation*, *AncW* 3 (1980), S. 69; dagegen P. GREEN, *The Royal Tombs at Vergina*, in: W.L. ADAMS – E. BORZA, a.a.O. (Anm. 34), S. 134f.: "Lastly, the supposition that Alexander would never have accorded Philip's wife Cleopatra royal burial honors out of respect for Olympias is mere speculation (in good fourth-century oratorical style) "from probability"

Unter Hinweis auf die Funde, die eine Vertrautheit mit Waffen in ziemlich deutlicher Weise erkennen lassen, namentlich den goldenen Köcher, kam Hammond auf die Vermutung, die im Vorraum bestattete Person sei Meda, die Tochter des skythischen Fürsten Atheas, welche von ihrem Vater Philipp als Gattin gegeben worden sein soll⁴⁹. Aufgrund einiger die innere Gestaltung beider Gräber betreffenden Indizien, meinte er ferner, die Frau müsste in der ziemlich kurzen Zeit zwischen dem Tode des Königs und der Schliessung des Grabkomplexes gestorben sein, und weil ein natürlicher Tod unwahrscheinlich sei, muss sie getötet worden sein, und zwar nach der in ihrem Land üblichen, bei Herodot⁵⁰ bezeugten Sitte der Sutee. Abgesehen davon, dass die Überlieferung über diese Heirat Philipps sehr unsicher ist, bleibt die Frage offen, wieso eine "barbarische" Sitte in Makedonien des 4. Jhs. angewandt werden konnte. Zu erwähnen ist ferner auch hier, dass die Bestimmung des Alters der betreffenden Person durch die anthropologische Forchung nach wie vor unsicher bleibt⁵¹. Die Identifizierung dieser mit irgendwelcher Frau Philipps im Sinne der Theorie, die das Hauptgrab ihm zuweist (bzw. in Sinne der Auffassung von Ph. Lehmann, die an Philipp Arrhidaios und Eurydike denkt), wird nicht zuletzt auch durch die spätere Datierung des Köchers in Frage gestellt: der Vergleich mit dem (der Herstellungsweise nach) ähnlichen, der im Kurgan von Karagodevasch in Südrussland gefunden worden ist, zeigt nach der Auffassung der russischen Archäologin A.P. Mancevic, dass jener wie dieser in das Ende des 4. Jhs gehört; aufgrund dieser Waffe, wie der Beischienen, hält ferner Mancevic für ausgeschlossen, dass es sich bei der im Vorraum

and in any case implicitly contradicted by Plutarch, who says that Alexander was, understandably, "infuriated" by Olympias's murder of Cleopatra and her child the moment his back was turned. Better, at that tricky early point in his reign, to offend his mother than a powerfull group of old-guard Macedonian barons" — eine Auffassung, die der historischen Wirklichkeit eher widerspricht.

⁴⁹ N.G.L. HAMMOND, *GRBS* 10 (1978), S. 336; ders., *The Evidence for the Identity of the Royal Tombs at Vergina*, in: W.L. ADAMS – E. BORZA, a.a.O. (Anm. 34), S. 123; *The Macedonian State*, Oxford 1989, S. 36.

⁵⁰ Nach der von Herodot (IV 71.4) beschriebenen skythischen Sitte mussten dem verstorbenen Fürsten ausser seiner Konkubine eine Reihe anderer Personen (Mundschenk, Koch, Stallknecht, Bote) bei seinem Aufenthalt im Jenseits zur Erfüllung seiner Bedürfnisse Gesellschaft leisten. Das macht den alleinigen Abgang der jungen Skythin in Makedonien heroischer aber auch unwahrscheinlicher.

⁵¹ J. MUSGRAVE, *Dust and Dawn'd Oblivion: A Study of Cremation in Ancient Greece*, *ABSA* 85 (1990), S. 271-299, bes. 274-282, S. 287 mit Anm. 88: "The nature and extent of this material make it very difficult to offer a more precise determination of age" (mit Hinweis auf N. Xirotiris – F. Langenscheidt, o. Anm. 39).

bestatteten Person um eine Frau gehandelt haben kann⁵². Ähnlich lautet die von Andronikos zitierte Auffassung eines (von ihm nicht genannten) französischen Archäologen⁵³.

In der Frage nach der Datierung der Gräber und (in Zusammenhang damit) der Identifizierung der Stadt (im Sinne der Auffassung, sie sei die alte makedonische Hauptstadt) sind ferner die Inschriftenfunde der Ausgrabungen verwendet worden. Es sind folgende:

(a) Die in einem bronzenen Dreifuss eingravierte Inschrift: ΠΑΡ ΑΡΓΕΙΑΣ ΗΡΕΑΣ ΕΜΙ ΤΟ ΑΦ ΕΘΛΟΝ. Der Dreifuss soll nach Andronikos als Preis bei den in Argos zu Ehren der Stadtgöttin veranstalteten Festspiele erworben worden sein. Er nahm drei Datierungen an: die Zeit um 460 v.Chr. (wobei er den Dreifuss mit Alexander der I. verband), dann die Zeit um 450 v.Chr. und schliesslich die Zeit 430-420 v.Chr.⁵⁴, im Gefolge von P. Amandry⁵⁵.

⁵² A.P. MANČEVIĆ, *The Discovery of a Royal Tomb in Northern Greece (Ancient Macedonia)*, VDI 151.1 (1980), S. 153-167 (bes. 162ff.), russisch mit englischer Zusammenfassung (Die Übersetzung aus dem Russischen verdanke ich Frau Miroslava Dimitriou). Auf die Ähnlichkeit beider Köcher wird auch von Andronikos hingewiesen, den Verginaköcher setzt er aber in die Mitte des 4. Jhs: er soll von einer griechischen Werkstatt für den skythischen König Atheas hergestellt und in den Besitz Philipps übergegangen worden sein nach seinem Sieg über die Skythen im J. 339 v.Chr. (*The Tombs*, a.a.O., S. 184).

⁵³ M. ANDRONIKOS, *Vergina* (n. 9), S. 179: "I should perhaps include the comment of a French archaeologist who, when I broached the matter, said, that the graves must have belonged to a man because their shape excludes any possibility that they were associated with woman's leg".

⁵⁴ M. ANDRONIKOS, *The Tombs* (Anm. 29), S. 55 Anm. 4: "After the cleaning of the bronzes we discovered that on the upper circle (στεφάνη) of the bronze tripod there was a dotted inscription reading: "I am from the games of Argive Hera". The letters are Argive and can be dated about 460 BC. That means that the tripod was a prize from the well-known games of Heraia. I believe that in 460 BC only a king of Macedon could take part in Heraia (the royal family of Macedon were Argeads); and we know that Alexander I, who was king until 454 BC, was the king who went to Olympia and took part in the Olympic games winning the second place. It is then quite probable that this king sent a chariot to the Heraia and won the prize; if so, the bronze tripod was an heirloom in the royal house of Macedon". Vgl. Ders., *Vergina* (Anm. 9), S. 166: "My original dating to around the middle of the fifth century BC (450 BC) has been modified by a French colleague, Pierre Amandry, who suggests a date of around 430-420 BC by comparing it with a similar inscription on the lip of a cauldron found in Athens and which is now, along with other finds from the same tomb, in the British Museum. Almost the same inscription is to be read on three other bronze hydriae" (ohne Literaturhinweis).

⁵⁵ P. AMANDRY, *Sur les concours Argiens*, BCH Suppl. VI (1980), S. 211-253, bes. 251 ("Postscriptum: l'ébène de Londres et tripied de Vergina"). Die gleiche Inschrift

Der Preisträger könne, so Andronikos, kein beliebiger makedonischer Athlet gewesen sein. Unter Hinweis auf die von den makedonischen Königen propagierte Abstammung aus Argos hält er für sehr wahrscheinlich, dass der Preisträger König und der Tote des Hauptgrabes ein Nachkomme von ihm gewesen sei, der den Dreifuss als ein wertvolles Erbstück der Familie bewahrte — d.h. eben Philipp II⁵⁶. Der Besitzer des Dreifusses kann gewiss nicht ein beliebiger Makedone gewesen sein, das bedeutet aber nicht, dass man in ihm einen König (d.h. Perdikkas II.) zu sehen hat. Er kann z.B. einer der vornehmen Makedonen gewesen sein, die mit diesem König in dem bekannten Vertrag mit Athen aus dem J. 423/2 v.Chr. genannt werden (oder ein Verwandter von ihm)⁵⁷.

(b) Die Inschrift ΕΡΥΔΑΙΚΑ ΣΙΡΡΑ ΕΥΚΛΕΙΑΙ, die als Weihung der Mutter Philipps II. für die Gottheit Eukleia gedeutet worden ist. Der daraus geschlossene Kult dieser Gottheit ist in Zusammenhang mit dem Ruhm, den Philipp II. nach der Schlacht bei Chaeroneia erwarb, als Indiz für die Identifizierung von Vergina mit der alten makedonischen Hauptstadt verwendet worden — ein gewiss nicht zwingender Schluss (denn

kennen wir auch aus einer Hydrie aus Sinope (heute in Museum von Ankara), und aus einem λέβης (aus dem sog. "Grab von Aspasia", heute im Britischen Museum: A. SMITH, *JHS* 46, 1926, S. 253-257). Zur Datierung Amandry, ebd.: "L'inscription, qui était lisible dans la vitrine où était exposé le trépied, est en tout point identique à celle du lébès de Londres, par la technique du pointillé et par la forme des lettres, — à tel point qu'il ne paraît pas douteux que les deux inscriptions soient de la main d'un même graveur au service de la cité d'Argos".

⁵⁶ M. ANDRONIKOS, *Vergina* (Anm. 9), S. 166: "It is clear that all such bronze objects — hydria, cauldron, tripod — were prizes awarded to the victors in games held at Argos in honour of Hera and known as the Heraia (or as Ekatomboia). Thus the tripod which was found in the main chamber of the tomb at Vergina was won as a prize by some victor in these games at Argos somewhere between 450 and 425 BC. I think that the participation of a lowly Macedonian athlete in such an event is unlikely at this time. If, however, we reflect that the Macedonian royal family was proud of its Argive descent from the family of the Temenids to which Heracles himself belonged, and if we recall that later two Macedonian kings, Demetrios Poliorcetes and Philip V were *agonothetes* of these games, we may appreciate that the possibility that the victor who carried off the trophy was a Macedonian king is quite strong. Moreover, we know from Herodotus that Alexander I, who ruled Macedonia from 479 to 454 BC himself took part in the Olympic Games. Thus the presence of the tripod in the chamber of the royal tomb means that it was deposited there because it was a valuable family heirloom, a fitting tribute to a worthy scion of the house".

⁵⁷ H. BENGTON, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums*, II, München 1962, Nr. 186, Z. 52ff. [Ὀμνυόν ἄρχ]οντες Μακεδόνων Περδίκκας [Ἀλεσχάνδρου] etc. Zu den Schwurzeugen s. F. GEYER, *Makedonien bis zur Thronbesteigung Philipps II* (Anm. 21), S. 71. Zur Datierungsfrage Bengtson, Kommentar, ebd.

er setzt u.a. voraus, dass Eurydike, wie ja Andronikos sagt, als ziemlich alte Frau auch nach 338 v.Chr. lebte)⁵⁸.

(c) Das gleiche gilt für die Deutung einer fragmentarisch erhaltenen, ebenfalls im Raum des Eukleia-heiligtums gefundenen Weihinschrift; danach handelt es sich um eine von Laodike, der Tochter des Seleukos IV und Frau des Perseus, also der letzten Königin Makedoniens — nach der Auffassung der Herausgeberin, um eine weitere “königliche Praesenz”, die ebenso wie jene von Eurydike für die Lokalisierung von Aigai mit Vergina spricht⁵⁹.

(d) Die in der oberen Schicht des grossen Tumulus gefundenen Grabstelen mit 39 Inschriften, wo insgesamt 75 Namen erhalten sind. Aufgrund der Schriftform, bzw. der stilistischen Einzelheiten der Reliefs werden sie von der Herausgeberin in die Zeit von der zweiten Hälfte des 4. bis in das erste Viertel des 3. Jh. v.Chr. datiert⁶⁰. Die Tatsache, dass alle diese Grabstelen zerbrochen waren, wird als das Werk der keltischen Söldner des Pyrrhos während ihrer Anwesenheit in Aigai gedeutet und als Stütze für die Theorie von Andronikos verwendet: Antigonos Gonnatas selbst habe nach der Etablierung seiner Herrschaft in Makedonien den

⁵⁸ M. ANDRONIKOS, *Vergina* (Anm. 9), S. 24, 49ff., bes. 51: “We are thus assured that this inscribed base was a royal offering. I think it is logical that the offerings which occupied the two other bases may also have been made by members of the royal family. If we recall that the erection of the temple to Eukleia in Athens postdated the Athenian victories in the Persian wars and we consider the meaning of the name of the goddess and link these reflections to the date of the inscription, we arrive at the right to postulate that such an offering may perhaps be linked with Philip’s victory at Chaironeia, in which his son Alexander distinguished himself. Finally one usefull piece of information, though of less import, which derives from this find is the fact that Eurydice must have been long-lived and was certainly alive after 338 BC, the last attested date we have had until now in the wild and scandalous life this lady led. More certainly still, the existence of royal offerings at this spot, together with the discovery of the theatre next to the impressive palace, come together to exclude the last lingering doubts about the identification of the area as the ancient capital of the Macedonians, Aigai”.

⁵⁹ s. Chr. SAATSOGLOU-PALIADELI, *Queenly Appearances at Vergina-Aegae. Old and New Epigraphic and Literary Evidence*, AA 2000 (3), S. 387-403. Nach der von der Verfasserin vorgeschlagenen Ergänzung lautet die Inschrift: [Βασιλισσα] Λαο[δίκη] | [βασιλέως] Σελ[εύκου] | [τῷ] θεῶ[ι]. Mit der Praesenz dieser Laodike in Makedonien verknüpft ist bekanntlich das von Polybios berichtete Ehrengelikt der Rhodier für ihre Seereise im J. 178 v.Chr. (XXV 4.8f.). Ihre im Vergina gefundene Weihinschrift besagt jedoch nicht, dass die dort gelegene Stadt die alte makedonische Hauptstadt gewesen sein muss.

⁶⁰ M. ANDRONIKOS, *Vergina* (Anm. 9), S. 83f. Chr. SAATSOGLOU-PALIADELI, *Τὰ ἐπιτάφια μνημεῖα ἀπὸ τῆ μεγάλης τοῦμπα της Βεργίνας*, Diss. Thessaloniki 1984 (Namenkatalog: S. 269ff.).

grossen Tumulus gebaut und dazu die aus dem Friedhof der Stadt zusammengetragenen (von den Kelten zerstörten) Grabstelen benutzt⁶¹.

Beweise dafür gibt es freilich nicht. Die Verwendung von Grabstelen für den Bau von Stadtmauern (mit Hinweis auf die sogenannte Themistokles-Mauer von Athen, Demetrias und Chersonesos im Bosporanischen Reich) kann begreiflicher Weise schwerlich als Parallele angeführt werden⁶². Dass Antigonos Gonatas die von den Kelten zerbrochenen Grabstellen von Stadtbürgern als Material für einen Grabhügel gebrauchen liess, obwohl es nicht unbedingt nötig war, ist m.E. wenig wahrscheinlich, auch wenn es sich um das Grab von Philipp II. gehandelt hätte; ausserdem wird in den einschlägigen Zeugnissen von Diodor und Plutarch nur von der Plünderung der Königsgräber, nicht aber von der Zerstörung der Gräber der einfachen Bürger — von der ja die nach Gold suchenden Söldner nichts zu gewinnen hätten — berichtet.

Bewiesen wäre ihre Anwesenheit in der alten makedonischen Hauptstadt und damit die Identifizierung derselben durch die Spuren der von ihnen begangenen Schändungen in den Königsgräbern selbst; und diese müssen sehr zahlreich gewesen sein, wenn man bedenkt, dass es von Perdikkas I bis Philipp II etwa zwanzig Könige in Makedonien gegeben hat⁶³, die zusammen mit ihren Familienangehörigen begraben wurden; sie sind bis jetzt nicht gefunden⁶⁴. Besondere Beachtung verdient m.E. die Bemerkung von Tarn, das bei Plutarch benutzte Wort ὀρύσσειν

⁶¹ M. ANDRONIKOS, *Vergina* (Anm. 9), S. 57ff., 227-228: "The Great Tumulus was raised later than the first quarter of the third century BC. The date of its erection is supplied by the countless fragments of broken grave stelai which were found in the overburden of the vast mound. The existence of these fragments, which testify to a destruction of the cemetery out of the ordinary, is to be deduced from a piece of information from Plutarch about the occupation of Aigai by Pyrrhos, the quartering of a small mercenary guard of Galatians in the town and the pillaging of the royal (and of course other) tombs of them. This took place in 274/3 BC, a date which exactly corresponds with the chronological limits of the latest stelai as they can be dated from the style of the lettering in the inscriptions. This huge tumulus for the great tomb was therefore constructed after 274 BC, on the orders of the Macedonian king Antigonos Gonatas. It is completely unreasonable to accept that Antigonos should have expended so much effort and taken so much care to erect the most impressive funeral mound we know over the tomb of the insignificant Philip Arrhidaios". Von Hammond dagegen wird der Bau des Tumulus Lysimachos zugewiesen; s. o. Anm. 28).

⁶² Chr. SAATSOGLOU-PALIADELI, a.a.O. (Anm. 60), S. 13.

⁶³ K.J. BELOCH, *Griechische Geschichte*², III 2, S. 49ff., 62 (Königsliste); F. GEYER, a.a.O. (Anm. 21), S. 25ff.; *CAH* VII, Tafel II (Liste der Könige der hellenistischen Zeit).

⁶⁴ Vgl. dazu A. STOUGIANAKI, Ἡ πρωτεύουσα Αἰγαί. Βασιλικὸν Μαυσωλεῖον, *Ἑδεσσαϊκὰ Χρονικά* I 2 (1972), S. 18-24.

deute darauf hin, dass es sich nicht um gewölbte Gräber, wie eben jene von Vergina sind, gehandelt haben kann⁶⁵.

V. EDESSA/AIGAI: DIE LITERARISCHE ÜBERLIEFERUNG – DIE MÜNZEN – DER KAISERTEMPEL

Das bedeutet, dass man, bevor man Vergina mit Aigai identifiziert oder andere Identifizierungsmöglichkeiten vorschlägt, die früher allgemein angenommene Auffassung prüfen muss, Aigai sei wenn nicht mit Edessa identisch⁶⁶, so doch eine ihm sehr nahe gelegene Gemeinde⁶⁷, wobei

⁶⁵ W.W. TARN, *Antigonos Gonatas* (Anm. 23), S. 265 Anm. 17 (mit Hinweis auf Plutarch, *Pyrrhos* 26, s.o. Anm. 25): "These tombs have not been found; and as the Gauls were said ὀρύττειν, to dig them up, it is probably that they were not vaulted chambers of the so-called "Macedonian" type, known to the Greek as καμάραι, in which the dead reposed, not in sarcophagi, but on open beds of stone. The earliest known examples do not appear to be earlier than the end of the fourth century (P. Perdrizet, *BCH* 22, p. 335); but a very beautiful tomb, Greek work, of the beginning of that century, but not quite Kamara type, has recently been discovered (Th. Macridy, *Jahrb.* 1911, p. 193). The word καμάρα, however, is said to be "Carian" and might therefore be old Macedonian, like "sarisa". See further on this word Wilamowitz, *Jahrb.* 1905, p. 104; E. Petersen, *Neue Jahrbücher* 15 (1905), p. 698; F. Solmsen, *B.Ph.W.* 1906, 853; Reuss, *Rhein. Mus.* 61, p. 400".

⁶⁶ So z.B. Ed. MEYER, *GdA* Bd. V 1958⁴, S. 52: "Die Residenz verlegte er (sc. Archelaos) von der alten Königstadt Aigai oder Edessa am Fuss der Berge in die Ebene nach Pella an dem schiffbaren Ludias...", F. GEYER, a.a.O. (Anm. 21), S. 38: "Sehr früh muss also Eordaia in die Hände der Makedonen gefallen sein, und von hier aus ist ein Stamm unter der Führung der Argeaden durch die Talsenke von Telovo zwischen dem Bermion und der Nidze Planina bis an den Rand der Küstenebene vorgedrungen und hat sich die feste Burg Aigai gebaut, das heutige Wodena, das noch heute wie ein Adlerhorst auf dem Gebirgsrand über der Ebene thront; vgl. ders., *RE* XIV (1928), Sp. 657 (Art. *Makedonia*), OBERHUMMER, *RE* V (1905), Sp. 1933 (Art. *Edessa*), Chr. DANOFF, *Der Kleine Pauly* II (1979), Sp. 197 (Art. *Edessa*): "Edessa übernahm den Namen einer der Vorstädte des alten Aigai". H. BENGTON, *Griechische Geschichte*, München 1960², S. 296: "Von hier aus nach Norden vordringend nahmen die Makedonen die Eordaia in Besitz, in dem auf hohem Gebirgsrande thronenden Felsenstamm Aigai schufen sie dem Staate einen Mittelpunkt". N.G.L. HAMMOND, *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.*, Oxford 1967², S. 534: "Orchards, vineyards and rose-gardens caused the first capital Edessa to be called the Garden of Midas".

⁶⁷ s. z.B. Ch.W. EDSON, *Early Macedonia, Ancient Macedonia* 1 (1968) [1972], S. 21: "The achievement of this conquest is marked by the first specific event in Macedonian history, the capture of the Thracian stronghold Edessa, a strategic site which dominates the main east to west line of communication through the Macedonian area, the later route of the Roman military road called the Via Egnatia. Near Edessa the Argeadae founded their own citadel, Aegai. At Aegae were established the tombs of the Argead kings"... Ebd., Anm. 17: "Although late sources such as the scholia to Clement of Alexandria (*Protrepticus* 2.8 and Justins Epitome of Pompeius Trogus (VII,1,10) assert that Edessa was "renamed" Aegae by the Argeadae, there can be no doubt that the two cities, though doubtless near to each other, were quite distinct...". In seinem Beitrag für den 1985 erschienenen

auch die Vermutung erwähnt werden muss, Aigai und Edessa seien durch Synoikismos von den Argeaden zu einer Stadt vereint, wodurch sich der Doppelname der alten makedonischen Hauptstadt erklären liesse⁶⁸. Obwohl die Diskussion ziemlich ausführlich bei Kalleris und Papazoglou⁶⁹ angeführt ist, halte ich hier für angebracht, auf die für die Verbindung von Aigai und Edessa sprechenden Zeugnisse kurz hinzuweisen, eine Verbindung, die, wie anfangs erwähnt, erst von Hammond und dann von Andronikos (durch die Funde von Vergina) verneint wurde:

1. Nach der literarischen Überlieferung, d.h. Euphoriion von Chalkis⁷⁰ und Justin⁷¹ ist Edessa mit Aigai identisch (d.h. Edessa der frühere, Aigai

Sammelband *Φίλιππος, Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων* (hrsg. von L. Loukopoulou – M. Hatzopoulos), Athen 1980, akzeptiert er dagegen — allerdings ohne jeglichen Hinweis auf seine frühere Auffassung — die Lokalisierung von Aigai “im nordwestlichen Pierien, in der Nähe Aliakmons”; vgl. dazu F. PAPAZOGLU, a.a.O. (Anm. 8), S. 134 Anm. 61.

⁶⁸ J. KALLERIS, *Les anciens Macédoniens*, I. *Étude linguistique et historique*, (*Collection de l'Institut Français d'Athènes*, Nr. 81), Athen 1954, S. 314: “Il se peut bien que Ἐδεσσα et Αἰγαί aient originellement désigné deux bourgs voisins, ayant existé séparément jusqu'à l'arrivée des Macédoniens au moins; les prétentions des Argéades sur la fondation de la capitale par le premier de la dynastie montrent, d'une part, qu'ils avaient choisi, pour l'une ou l'autre raison, Αἰγαί comme capitale, et, d'autre part, qu'ils avaient opéré, tout de suite ou un peu plus tard, une sorte de synoesime par la fusion de deux bourgs en une ville. Je ne vois pas, pour ma part, une autre explication du fait que la capitale a gardé jusqu'à la fin du royaume son double nom (5). De toute façon, il n'est nullement certain que les deux noms aient servi à désigner dès l'origine la même ville. (5). Cf. Babelon, l.c., 1096. On a des cas analogues ailleurs en Grèce; cf., par ex., Strab. X, 466: Ἐνιοὶ δὲ τοὺς Ὠρεΐτας πόλιν ἔχοντας ἰδίαν φασὶ ... μεταβῆναι καὶ συνοικῆσαι τοῖς Ἰστιάεινσι, μίαν δὲ γεννηθεῖσαν πόλιν ἀμφοτέροις χρήσθαι τοῖς ὀνόμασι, καθάπερ Λακεδαίμων τε καὶ Σπάρτη ἡ αὐτή.

⁶⁹ J. KALLERIS, a.a.O., S. 306-315; F. PAPAZOGLU, a.a.O. (Anm. 8), S. 131ff. mit ihrem neuen Lokalisierungsversuch: “Ma supposition que la tombe de Lefkadia et les autres tombes macédoniennes de la région d'Ano-Kopanos-Lefkadia pourrait être une indication de la nécropole des rois de Macédoine n'a pas été approuvée par les connaisseurs du terrain” (ebd. S. 133 mit Anm. 58).

⁷⁰ Nach dem bekannten, in den Scholien des Protreptikos von Clemens aus Alexandria überlieferten Zitat: Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χρησμοῦ προθυμότερος γενόμενος Καρανὸς σύν τισιν Ἑλλήσιν ἀποικίαν στείλαμενος, ἐλθὼν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐκτίσεν πόλιν καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐβασίλευσεν καὶ τὴν πρότερον καλουμένην Ἐδεσσαν πόλιν Αἰγὰς μετωνόμασεν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰγῶν. Ὡκεῖτο δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν ἢ Ἐδεσσα ἀπὸ Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν καὶ τῶν μετὰ Μίδου διακομισθέντων εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην. Ταῦτα Εὐφορίων ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ Ἰστιάϊ καὶ τῷ Ἰνάχῳ. Im Gebrauch der Verben ἐκτίσεν und μετωνόμασεν sieht F. Papazoglou einen Widerspruch und meint, der Satz “καὶ τὴν πρότερον ... ἀπὸ τῶν αἰγῶν” sei ein von Scholiast stammender Zusatz (a.a.O., S. 127 Anm. 12). Zwingend ist es nicht; ausserdem wäre durch eine solche Annahme die Verbindung von Edessa mit Aigai nicht erklärt, was Papazoglou zu der Bemerkung zwingt, dass die von einer Stadt mit zwei Namen sprechende Überlieferung eine befriedigende Erklärung noch nicht gefunden habe (a.a.O., S. 131).

⁷¹ Justinus, *Hist. Philippicae* VII 1.7f.: *Caranus cum magna multitudine Graecorum sedes in Macedonia responso oraculi iussus quaerens... urbem Edessam gregem*

der spätere von Karanos gegebene Name). Trotz der gegen diese Überlieferung vorgebrachten Kritik, sowie der literarischen Zeugnisse für aus Aigai stammende Personen (Αἰγαῖοι)⁷² oder sogar des (sehr seltenen) epigraphischen Vorkommens des Stadtnamens, hat eine in ihrem Kern so klare Aussage, die die Hauptstadt eines griechischen Staates mit der Geschichte Makedoniens betrifft und im Falle von Euph Orion von einem gebildeten Mann (der auch Bibliothekar des Antiochos des Grossen gewesen ist)⁷³, überliefert wird, einen unbestreitbaren Stellenwert.

2. In Zusammenhang damit sollen m.E. auch die vorhin zitierten Stellen über den Anmarsch des Kronprätendenten Argaios im J. 359 (bei Diodor) und die Stationierung der keltischen Söldner (bei Diodor und Plutarch) im J. 274 gesehen werden: Dass Argaios mit von Athen bezahlten Söldnern in die alte makedonische Hauptstadt kommt und den dort ansässigen Makedonen sagt, sie würden, wenn sie ihn unterstützen, die Begründer seiner Königsherrschaft werden (ἀρχηγοὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας), klingt nicht sehr glaubwürdig. Wahrscheinlicher wäre m.E. dagegen die Vermutung, dass der athenische General (der, nach dem Wortlauf des Textes, die Operation geplant hat) sie mit der Festsetzung der athenischen Streitmacht in der Nähe eines wichtigen strategischen Ziels, d.h. eben Edessa, verband. Dass in dem summarischen und sonst sehr lückenhaften Bericht Diodors nichts davon steht, ist m.E. kein zwingender Einwand.

In Berichten von militärischen Operationen in Makedonien wird nämlich Edessa als eine gut befestigte Stadt und strategisches Ziel von hoher Bedeutung hingestellt, so dass man den Eindruck hat, ihre Lage würde durchaus die Auswahl der Stelle erklären, wo sich die alte makedonische Hauptstadt befand. Ich meine damit die Invasion von Pyrrhos im J. 289 gegen Demetrios Poliorketes (Plutarch, *Pyrrhos* 10) und die Invasion des Spartiaten Kleonymos gegen Antigonos Gonatas (273 v.Chr.) (Polyainos II 29).

caprarum... secutus occupavit, revocatusque in memoriam oraculi quo iussus erat ducibus capris imperium quaerere regni sedem statuit... Urbem Edessam ob memoriam muneris Aegas... vocavit.

⁷² F. PAPA ZOGLOU, a.a.O. (Anm. 8), S. 133 Anm. 1 (mit den Quellenhinweisen). A.B. TATAKI, *Macedonians Abroad. A Contribution to the Prosopography of Ancient Macedonia* (MEATHMATA 26), Athen 1998, S. 39-41.

⁷³ Zu seinem Werk und literarischem Einfluss s. O. SKUTSCH, *RE* (1907), Sp. 1176ff. (Art. *Euph Orion*); A. LESKY, *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.*, Bern 1957, S. 848f.; K. LATTE, *Der Thrax des Euph Orion*, *Philologus* 90 (1935), S. 129ff.

Die Aussagekraft der Münzen. Für die Verbindung von Aigai mit Edessa galten bekanntlich früher als ausschlaggebend die mit dem Ziegenbock signierten Statere der archaischen Zeit, deren Monogramm (ΔΕ) nach der (m.W. früher allgemein akzeptierten) Auffassung von D. Raymond die Provenienz aus Edessa (“den älteren Namen von Aigai”) verrät⁷⁴. Auf die gegen diese Auffassung (von numismatischer Seite) vorgebrachten Einwände kann hier nicht eingegangen werden⁷⁵, interessant und in diesem Zusammenhang m.E. instruktiv sind jedenfalls fünf neu entdeckte Bronzmünzen aus Edessa der Kaiserzeit: In allen ist das Kennzeichen von Aigai, der Ziegenbock, abgebildet — in den ersten vier (aus der Zeit Hadrians) an den Füßen einer weiblichen Gestalt (die Rom oder Edessa darstellt), in dem einen (aus der Zeit Karakallas) unter einem Baum. Das Wiederaufleben des Gründungsmythos der Stadt ist evident, namentlich bei der letztgenannten Münze, deren Vorderseite bezeichnenderweise das Bild des makedonenfreundlichen Kaisers trägt⁷⁶.

Für die in der früheren (bis vor nur dreissig Jahren) Forschung, als *communis opinio* geltende Auffassung, Edessa und Aigai seien, wenn nicht identisch, so doch Nachbargemeinden gewesen, diese in Edessa geprägten Münzen der Kaiserzeit sind ein weiteres, gewiss aussagekräftiges Zeugnis; für die seit der Entdeckung der spektakulären Gräber verfochtene Identifizierung von Aigai mit Vergina stellen sie sich dagegen als eine delikate Frage — eine Frage, die m.W. nur von deren Herausgeberin behandelt und vermutungsweise beantwortet wurde: Vergina/Aigai sei in der Zeit der römischen Herrschaft — schon seit dem 1. Jh. v.Chr.,

⁷⁴ D. RAYMOND, *Macedonian Regal Coinage to 413 B.C.* (The American Numismatic Society Nr. 126), New York 1953, S. 49: “The goat staters are quite generally assigned to Aegai. Svoronos’ assignment of them to the Derronians, among whom the goat type has no recognizable meaning, is erroneous. The monogram ΔΕ on which he bases the attribution is that of Edessa, the older name for Aegae”. Vgl. dazu auch die von J. KALLERIS, a.a.O. (Anm. 68), S. 606-607 angeführte Diskussion und den (kurzen) Hinweis von F. PAPAIOGLOU, a.a.O. (Anm. 8), S. 131 Anm. 46.

⁷⁵ Siehe O. PICARD, *Les monnaies au bouc attribuées à Aigai*, BSFN 6 (1995), S. 1071-1075, ders., *Tò νόμισμα στὸ μακεδονικὸ χῶρο*, Ὁβολός 4 (2000), S. 16, der für die Provenienz der Serie aus Ostmakedonien, dem südlichen Teil des Strymonals — allerdings ohne jegliche nähere Angabe — eintritt; ihm folgend E. PAPAETHYMIU, *A Tetrahedron of Goat-Type, Attributed to Alexander I, King of Macedonia* (Griechisch mit engl. Zusammenf.), Ὁβολός 4 (2000), S. 38.

⁷⁶ Siehe E. PAPAETHYMIU, *Une pièce inédite de Caracalla émise par l’atelier monétaire d’Edessa de Macédoine*, CCG 9 (1999), S. 331-341, bes. 344 ff. (“La dynastie des Sévères et le mythe de fondation de la capitale macédonienne”); vgl. dies., *Edessa de Macédoine. Étude historique et numismatique*, Diss. Paris 1995 (Bibliothèque de la Société Hellénique de Numismatique t. 7), Athen 2002, S. 57ff.

entsprechend auch dem Willen der Römer — von seiner Bevölkerung allmählich verlassen, die in Edessa eine neue Heimat fand, weil das viel näher liegende dicht bewohnte Beroia sich dafür nicht bot; so konnten die Edessäer sich als Nachkommen der Einwohner von Aigai betrachten und fühlten sich damit berechtigt, in den besagten Münzen das Kennzeichen der alten makedonischen Hauptstadt aufzunehmen⁷⁷.

3. *Der Kaisertempel von Aigai*. Interessanterweise ist jedoch die Existenz des alten Aigai durch zwei epigraphische (einwandfreie) Zeugnisse (die einzigen, die es m.W. überhaupt gibt), aus etwa der gleichen Zeit (3. Jh. n.Chr.) gesichert: Urkunden von Sklavenschenkungen an das Heiligtum der Göttermutter Autochton in Leukopetra bei Beroia, die zusammen mit anderen, ähnlichen Inhalts, aus dem 2. und 3. Jh. n.Chr. im J. 1966 gefunden, im J. 2000 publiziert sind. In der einen (aus dem J. 229 n.Chr.) wird das Ethnikon (Ἑγέοι) zur Bezeichnung der früheren Besitzer des geschenkten Sklaven⁷⁸, in der anderen (aus dem J. 253 n.Chr.) zur Bezeichnung der Gemeinde (ἐν Αἰγαιαῖς) erwähnt. Am wichtigsten ist die letztere⁷⁹.

Die Stadt Aigai, wo der Sklavenbesitzer, offenbar Bürger derseben, Αὐρήλιος Ποσιδώνιος lebte, hatte einen Kaisertempel (Caesareum-Κεσάρειον), in dem er nach seiner Aussage die Urkunden der Schenkung (πιττάκια) zur Aufbewahrung deponierte. Aigai, das nach Auffassung des Herausgebers im heutigen Vergina gelegen sein muss, soll in jener Zeit den Status der Stadt verloren haben und in das Territorium des benachbarten Veroia eingegliedert sein⁸⁰. Die Vermutung stösst auf erhebliche Schwierigkeiten: Die Form der Eingliederung bleibt unklar, während das in der anderen Inschrift vorkommende Ethnikon auf den Status einer Stadt hinweist — im Gegensatz zu den in anderen Urkunden benutzten Bezeichnungen von Einwohnern abhängiger Orte (Komen)⁸¹.

⁷⁷ E. PAPAETHYMIU, *Une pièce inédite*, S. 345. Zu bemerken sei hier, dass die in Vergina gefundenen Münzen noch nicht publiziert sind.

⁷⁸ Ph.M. PETSAS – M.B. HATZOPOULOS – L. GOUNAROPOULOU – P. PASCHIDIS, *Inscriptions du Sanctuaire de la Mère des Dieux Autochtones de Leukopetra (Macédoine)* (MEΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 28), Athen 2000, Nr. 73.

⁷⁹ I. *Leukopetra* 103. Hier der Wortlaut: "Ἐτους δ'πσ'· σεβαστοῦ, ἰ μὴνός Ἀφου, ἐν Αἰγαιαῖς · ἰ Αὐρήλιος Ποσιδώνιος προέθηκεν πιττάκια πρὸς τοῦ ἰ Κεσαρείου εἰς τοὺς ἰθισμένους τόπους δ(ι)ωρούμενος Θεῷ Αὐτόχθονι κοράσιν ἰ ὀνόματι Ποσιδωνίαν, γένι μακεδονικόν, ὡς ἐτῶν ἰβ'...

⁸⁰ M.B. HATZOPOULOS, a.a.O. (Anm.??), S. 164; ders., *Χώρα καὶ κῶμες τῆς Βεροίας*, in: *Μνήμη Δ. Ααζαρίδη*, Thessaloniki 1990, S. 61-62.

⁸¹ s. z.B. Nr. 31: (ὁ δεῖνα) Βεροιαῖος οἰκῶν ἐν Κυνέοις; Nr. 71: (ἡ δεῖνα) οἰκοῦσα ἐν Μιζέοις τόποις; Nr. 106: (ὁ δεῖνα) κατοικῶν ἐν Ἀλεβία κώμῃ τῆς Ἑλμιεας; Nr. 65: (οἱ δεῖνες) οἰκοῦντες ῥεγιῶνι Ἑλμιωτῶν κώμῃ Δουρέοις.

Ein Kaisertempel in einem Dorf ist kaum denkbar, geschweige denn in einer von ihrer Bevölkerung zum grossen Teil verlassenem Gemeinde; wie in den anderen Städten des griechischen Ostens, wo es Kaisertempel gegeben hat (in Makedonien sind es Philippi, Dion, Kalindoia, Charakoma, Thessaloniki, Veroia)⁸², so muss auch das Cesareum von Aigai ein ansehnliches Gebäude gewesen sein, das dem Kult, offenbar aber auch der Verwaltung diene — was ein entsprechend reges städtisches Leben voraussetzt.

Dieser Kaisertempel und damit die alte makedonische Hauptstadt dürfte dagegen in der Nähe von Edessa, das nach dem bisherigen numismatischen und, wie erwähnt, epigraphischen Befund, bis in das 3. Jh. n. Chr. alle Voraussetzungen dafür erfüllte, gelegen haben. Die relativ grosse Entfernung von Leukopetra (ca. 40 km) ist keine Gegeninstanz, denn die in sonstigen Urkunden vorkommenden Sklavenbesitzer stammen zu einem grossen Teil von auswärtigen Gemeinden — einer sogar aus der weiter als Edessa entfernten Stadt Kyrrhos⁸³. Sicher ist jedenfalls, dass in den gut ausgegrabenen Gebiet von Vergina, wo es bisher keine Spur von Leben im 3. Jh. n. Chr. gefunden ist, eine Stadt Aigai nicht existiert haben kann⁸⁴. Keine Gegeninstanz kann auch der Umstand sein, daß aus Edessa keine öffentliche Bauten entdeckt worden sind: die Durchführung von Ausgrabungen, deren Notwendigkeit im 19. Jh., aber auch in neuer Zeit hervorgehoben wird⁸⁵, ist bekanntlich nicht möglich gewesen, weil die alte Stadt von der modernen überbaut ist⁸⁶. Instrukтив in diesem Zusammenhang ist die von Adolf von Struck in seinen "Makedonischen Fahrten" aus dem J. 1908 gegebene Beschreibung des nördlichen Teiles von Edessa, wo der damalige Bibliothekar des Deutschen

⁸² Eine dem Buch von S.R.F. PRICE, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 1984 (S. 249ff.: Katalog der Kaisertempel) entsprechende Untersuchung über den Kaiserkult in Griechenland gibt es m.W. noch nicht.

⁸³ I. *Leukopetra* 45 (199/200 n.Chr.).

⁸⁴ Der Archäologe Ph. Petsas, dem wir die Entdeckung der Inschriften von Leukopetra verdanken, sprach bei dem 8. Internationale Epigraphischen Kongress in Athen (im Oktober 1982) die Erwartung aus, daß Hammond und Andronikos die Existenz des Caesareums in Vergina in absehbarer Zeit aufzeigen werden (*Praktika*, vol. I, Athen 1984, S. 305-306). Beide, wie die archäologische und historische Forschung überhaupt, damals wie später haben sich damit m.W. überhaupt nicht befasst.

⁸⁵ s. z.B. M. DEMITSAS, *Ἡ Μακεδονία ἐν λίθοις φθεγγόμενοις καὶ μνημείοις σωζομένοις*, Bd. I, Athen 1896, S. 30f.; A. STOUGIANAKI, *Ἡ πρωτεύουσα Αἰγαί. Βασιλικὸν Μουσολεῖον, Ἐδεσσαϊκὰ Χρονικὰ* I 2 (1972), S. 18ff.

⁸⁶ Sonstige, in vielfacher Hinsicht interessante Funde sind freilich durch die Ausgrabungen in anderen Orten erbracht; s. A. CHRYSOSTOMOU, *Ἡ ἀρχαία Ἐδεσσα καὶ τὰ νεκροταφεῖα της*, Diss. Thessaloniki 2000.

Archäologischen Instituts in Athen das Theater der alten makedonischen Hauptstadt mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit vermutet hat⁸⁷.

VI. VERGINA ALS KÖNIGSRESIDENZ IM 4. JH. UND WOHNSTZ MAKEDONISCHER ADLIGER DER ALEXANDERZEIT

Wenn die auf der Stelle des heutigen Vergina gelegene Stadt nicht das alte Aigai gewesen sein kann, so war sie bestimmt (nach den bisherigen Funden ihrer Nekropole) eine bis in die archaische Zeit durch weitreichende Handelsbeziehungen florierende Gemeinde, die ihr makedonisches Profil erst im 4. Jh. v.Chr., namentlich durch Philipp II bekommen hat. Ziemlich nahe dem südlichen Ufer des Thermaischen Golfes, fast direct gegenüber der Hauptstadt Pella gelegen, sollte die Stadt nach Einnahme von Pydna (356) und Methone (354) eine besondere Stellung zur Demonstration der königlichen Macht im Kerngebiet des Staates haben; der prächtige, als Palast bezeichnete Bau, den man jetzt in die Regierungszeit Philipps datiert, oder auch der Tempel der Eukleia, sind die für diese Rolle charakteristischen Monumente. Als Aufenthaltsort des Königs und der makedonischen Adligen blieb die Stadt eng mit ihm verbunden; so erklärt es sich, daß das Ende der Monarchie nach der Niederlage durch die Römer den Beginn des Niedergangs der Stadt signalisierte.

Vornehmen Makedonen bzw. ihren Familienangehörigen dürfen die sieben (von den insgesamt 25 in Nordgriechenland bisher entdeckten) makedonischen Gräber von Vergina zugewiesen werden, von deren drei unter dem grossen Grabhügel sich befanden. Nach einem neuerdings mit einem guten bibliographischen Überblick veröffentlichten Katalog, kann die überwiegende Mehrheit (15) auf das letzte Viertel des 4. bzw. den Beginn des 3. Jh. datiert werden⁸⁸. Als deren Inhaber wird man wohl Generäle oder sonstige hohe Funktionäre Alexanders des Grossen vermu-

⁸⁷ A. VON STRUCK, *Makedonische Fahrten II: Die makedonischen Niederlande*, Serajevo 1908, 62f.

⁸⁸ M. TSIBIDOU-AVLONITI, *Μακεδονικοί τάφοι στὸν Φοίνικα καὶ στὸν Ἅγιον Ἀθανάσιο Θεσσαλονίκης* (*Δημοσιεύματα τοῦ Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Δελτίου* Nr. 91), Athen 2005, S. 173-180 [Gräber Nr. 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24; hinzuzufügen ist (nach dem oben, Anm. 43, 46 Gesagten) Nr. 6, das sog. "Grab Philipps"]. Der Katalog beruht z.T. auf der von B. GOSSEL, *Makedonische Kammergräber*, Diss. München 1980, S. 79-272 angefertigten Liste (mit übersichtlichen Beschreibungen der einzelnen Gräber).

ten dürfen, die aus dem Orient in ihre Heimat zurückkamen — reich und selbstbewusst, wie sie sich selbst in der äusseren und inneren Gestaltung ihrer geräumigen Grabstätten erkennen lassen⁸⁹. Ob und inwiefern die beiden Toten des intakt gefundenen Grabes im grossen Grabhügel von Vergina ein Sonderfall sind⁹⁰, wird es sich herausstellen, wenn alle Funde publiziert sind, vor allem die an anderer Stelle erwähnte Schlachtszene mit den angreifenden Reitern und den niederknienenden “Barbaren”⁹¹.

Eben darin, d.h. in der Bedeutung, die die makedonischen Gräber jener Zeit (und unter ihnen in erster Linie diejenigen von Vergina) als Ausdruck des Selbstbewusstseins der aus dem Orient zurückgekommenen Kampfgefährten Alexanders des Grossen haben, liegt m.E. deren besonderer historischer Stellenwert. Der archäologische Beweis für die Lokalisierung der alten makedonischen Hauptstadt können eigentlich die unzähligen, von den keltischen Söldnern des Pyrrhos ausgeraubten Gräber der makedonischen Könige sein; und sie sind, ebenso wie das Caesareum, in Vergina nicht gefunden. Die Auffindung dieser Gräber wäre allerdings eine in gewissem Sinne negative Sensation: sie würde nämlich das Elend veranschaulichen, welches nach dem Glanz einer welthistorischen Leistung durch das nochmalige griechische politische Versagen verursacht wurde und ein halbes Jahrhundert gedauert hat.

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⁸⁹ Es hat der Forschung sehr geschadet, dass dieser alte Tumulus, der selbst ein — nach Hammond von Lysimachos, nach Andronikos von Antigonos Gonatas geschaffenes — Monument war, wenige Jahre nach der Ausgrabung abgerissen wurde. Die ohnehin vielfach interessante Frage nach den Zeitumständen und Motiven der Errichtung des Tumulus wird dadurch erheblich erschwert.

⁹⁰ Siehe B. GOSSEL, a.a.O., S. 69 ff., wo freilich trotz der Vorbehalte gegen die Zuweisung des Hauptgrabes an Philipp II (S. 269), die Identifikation Verginas mit Aigai angenommen wird (S. 264).

⁹¹ s. Anm. 46. Aufschlussreich könnte vielleicht auch eine mit den Mitteln der modernen Technologie durchzuführende Untersuchung über die Herkunft des zur Herstellung verschiedener Funde verwendeten Goldes sein.

NACHTRÄGE

Kap. II. Vergina als Aigai: Anm. 19

Die Lokalisierung der alten makedonischen Hauptstadt in Vergina wird auch von dem Archäologen P. Phaklaris bestritten in seinem Aufsatz: *Aegae: Determining the Site of the First Capital of the Macedonians*, *AJA* 98 (1994), S. 609-616, wo Aegai mit der auf der Stelle des heutigen Dorfes Kopanos, 19 km südlich von Edessa, gelegenen unbekannten antiken Stadt identifiziert wird.

KAP. III: Literarische Instanzen: Das Elend des Bürgerkrieges in den Spuren eines unbekannten königlichen Grabmonuments

Die das Hauptgrab Philippos Arrhidaios zuweisende, von verschiedenen Ansätzen ausgehende Auffassung (s. Anm. 32ff.), beruht auf zwei literarischen Zeugnissen von unterschiedlichem Aussagewert: einer Diodorstelle (XIX 52.5) und einer von Athenaios überlieferten (IV 155a) Angabe des Historikers des 3. Jhs. v.Chr. Diyllos von Athen (*FGrHist* 73 F1). In beiden wird eindeutig erwähnt, dass Kassander Philippos, seine Frau Eurydike und deren Mutter Kynna in Aigai begraben liess (ἔθαψεν); in dem ersten heisst es anschliessend, Kassander habe die Verstorbenen durch Leichenspiele geehrt (τιμήσας τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἐπιταφίοις ἀγῶσι), in dem zweiten wird als besondere Ehrung der Zweikampf erwähnt, an dem vier Soldaten beteiligt gewesen seien (μονομαχίας ἀγῶνα ἔθηκεν, εἰς ὃν κατέβησαν τέσσαρες τῶν στρατιωτῶν). Eben wegen dieser Besonderheit wird die Angabe des Historikers von Athenaios zitiert.

Die vorwiegend mit dem ersten von diesen Zeugnissen befasste, aber auch sonstige (archäologische) Literatur, wo die Datierung der Vergina-gräber auf die Zeit Kassanders vertreten wird, ist m.W. am ausführlichsten neuerdings von E. Kapetanopoulos (in einem elektronisch verfügbaren Aufsatz) besprochen worden⁹². Die Besonderheit des Begräbnisses, vor allem aber das Begräbnis selbst in seinem historischen Zusammenhang, wird allerdings dort — und m.W. auch sonst — nicht genügend erörtert, obwohl dieser Zusammenhang, in dem sich u.a. die Motivation für das

⁹² E. KAPETANOPOULOS, Department of History, Central Connecticut State University: <http://www.history.ccsu.edu/elias/taphosphilippoub.htm> [2000]. Den Hinweis verdanke ich Dr. E. Sverkos (Ionische Universität Kerkyra).

Begräbnis durchblicken lässt, durch einen von Diodor überlieferten, ausführlichen und auch sonst instruktiven Bericht (XIX 11) gut bekannt ist.

Arrhidaios, der geistesschwache Sohn Philipps II und der Larisäerin Philinna, und Adea/Eurydike, dessen kriegslustige Enkelin (ihre Mutter Kynna war Tochter der illyrischen Nebenfrau Philipps Audata), Könige seit Alexanders Tod und seit Frühjahr 317 v.Chr. auf der Seite Kassanders, (der von Eurydike zum Reichsverweser ernannt worden war), hatten auf Befehl der hasserfüllten Olympias nach einer grausamen Behandlung einen schimpflichen Tod gefunden: Von ihren Truppen beim Treffen mit dem Heere der Königinmutter (bei Euia in Dassaretien, an der epirotisch/makedonischen Grenze) verlassen und gefangengenommen, lebten sie viele Tage lang in demütigender Haft, bei der Arrhidaios von thrakischen Wächtern gefoltert wurde; er starb kurz danach, Eurydike, welcher Olympias Schwert, Schlinge und Gift zum Selbstmord geschickt hatte, hatte sich durch ihren Gürtel erhängt. Kassander's Bruder Nikanor und hundert andere Makedonen, die vornehmsten unter seinen Freunden, mussten auch sterben (XIX 11.2). Von deren Verwandten ist Olympias später, in Kassanders Haft, nach der Kapitulation von Pydna, getötet worden (XIX 51.5). Kurz danach (im Frühjahr 316 v.Chr.) wurde von Kassander das an anderer Stelle beschriebene Begräbnis in Aigai veranstaltet; die dabei erwiesenen Ehrungen galten auch Eurydike's Mutter Kynna, die fünf Jahre vorher in Kleinasien, nach einem missglückten Eingriff in den Krieg, auf Perdikkas Befehl hingerichtet worden war⁹³.

Ob die sterblichen Überreste der in abgelegenen Orten und vor geraumer bzw. längerer Zeit unter extraordinären Verhältnissen verstorbenen Könige hätten gefunden werden können und — im positiven Fall — ob sie für die anthropologische Forschung brauchbar wären, sind Fragen, die eigentlich nur diese betreffen. Hier kommt es auf die Motivation, sowie die Ausstattung des Begräbnisses selbst an: Aus dem von Diodor überlieferten Bericht lässt sich deutlich erkennen, dass Kassander durch die den Königen und Kynna erwiesenen Ehren (wie durch die in der gleichen Zeit erfolgte Heirat mit Philipps Tochter Thessalonike) die Verbindung mit dem Könighaus anstrebte; und dass er aus diesem Grund, aber auch im Andenken an den Märtyrertod der Könige selbst ein für sie angemessenes ansehnliches Grabmonument errichtet haben muss. Die ihnen erwiesenen ausserordentlichen Ehrungen haben offenbar für den guten

⁹³ Zu den Ereignissen s. K.J. BELOCH, *Gr. Gesch.* IV 1², Berlin/Leipzig 1925, S. 83, 108 (mit Quellenhinweisen).

Homerkenner Kassander⁹⁴ als Vorbild das (II. XXIII 192ff.) bekannte, von Achilleus (mit Leichenspielen etc.) angeordnete Patroklosbegräbnis.

Das in Vergina gefundene intakte Hauptgrab Philippos Arrhidaios zuzuweisen und in dessen monumentaler Jagddarstellung ein von Kassander erdachtes “propagandistisches” Mittel für seine Herrschaft fast von gleichem Wert wie die Emission einer königlichen Münzserie⁹⁵ ist, allerdings im Hinblick auf das, was die Zeitgenossen über Leben und Tod der drei königlichen Personen nach dem von Diodor überlieferten Bericht wussten, unwahrscheinlich. Dieses ansehnliche königliche Grabmonument (vermutlich Kenotaph) ist in Vergina, ebenso wie die unzähligen Gräber der früheren Könige und ihrer Familienangehörigen und das Caesareum, nicht gefunden worden.

Kap. IV. Der archäologische Befund: Anm. 37 (Kopfverletzung)

s. A. BARTSIOKAS, *The Eye Injury of King Philip II and the Skeletal Evidence from the Royal Tomb II at Vergina*, *Science* 288 (No 5465), 21-4-2000, S. 511-514 (Identifizierung des Toten mit Arrhidaios).

Kap. IV (Ende)

Keinen Beweis für die Identifizierung des Inhabers des Hauptgrabes kann auch die Jagddarstellung liefern; vgl. z.B. die Diskussion bei Chr. SAATSOGLOU-PALIADELI, *Βεργίνα. Ὁ τάφος τοῦ Φιλίππου. Ἡ τοιχογραφία μὲ τὸ κυνήγι*, Athen 2004, S. 137-169; O. PALAGGIA, *Pyre and Royal Hunt of Alexander*, in: A.B. BOSWORTH – E.J. BAYNHAM, *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction*, Oxford 2000, S. 246; E. KAPETANOPOULOS, a.a.O. *ebd.*; E. BORZA – O. PALAGGIA, *The Chronology of the Macedonian Royal Tombs at Vergina*, *Jdl* 122 (2007), S. 81-124; M. SEYER, a.a.O. *ebd.*

⁹⁴ Athenaios XIX 12 (nach einem Zeugnis des Karystios).

⁹⁵ So M. SEYER, *Der Herrscher als Jäger. Untersuchungen zur königlichen Jagd im persischen und makedonischen Reich von 6-4 Jh. v.Chr., sowie unter den Diadochen Alexanders des Grossen*, Wien 2007, S. 173-188.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE *SARISA* IN MACEDONIAN WARFARE

Abstract: When was the *sarisa* introduced in Macedonia? Our ancient sources would seem to answer this question rather readily. Polyaeus (IV 2.10) relates that «Philip [II] ... made them take up their arms, ... carrying helmets, shields, greaves, *sarisai*, ...» Diodorus (XVI 3.1-2) appears to put this in a clear chronological context. After relating the death of Perdiccas and 4000 Macedonians, Diodorus states, «Philip was not panic-stricken by the magnitude of the expected perils, but, bringing together the Macedonians ... and ... having improved the organization of his forces and equipped the men suitably with weapons of war ... he devised the compact order and the equipment of the phalanx ... and was the first to organize the Macedonian phalanx.» Despite these ancient accounts, it has been argued that Philip did not introduce the *sarisa* until 336 BC at the earliest. This paper will conclude that Philip introduced the *sarisa* into the ranks of both his infantry and cavalry by the winter of 359/8 BC.

When was the *sarisa* introduced in Macedonia? Our ancient sources would seem to answer this question rather readily. Polyaeus (IV. 2. 10) relates that «Philip [II] ... made them take up their arms, ... carrying helmets, shields, greaves, *sarisai*, ...,» and Diodorus appears to put this in a clear chronological context. After relating the deaths of Perdiccas III and more than 4000 Macedonians at the hands of Bardylis and the Illyrians¹ in 359 BC (XVI 2.4-5)², Diodorus (XVI 3.1-2) states:

Philip was not panic-stricken by the magnitude of the expected perils, but, bringing together the Macedonians ... and ... having improved the

¹ While it is generally believed that Bardylis was the king of the Illyrian Dardanians (for example, ELLIS [1980] 38, [1976] 45, 48; HAMMOND [1966] 239-253), PAPAZOGLU (1978) 137 n. 18 believes that the Dardanians and Illyrians were two different peoples. Appian, however, says that those called Illyrians by the Greeks included all peoples who dwell beyond the borders of Macedonia and Thrace all the way to the Danube (App., *Ill.* 1.1). Appian (*Ill.* 1.2) continues that the country was named for Illyrius, the son of Polyphemus, who had six sons, Enchelous, Autarieus, Dardanus, Maedus, Taulas and Perrhaebus; from these and other children sprang, again according to Appian, the various Illyrian tribes. J. WILKES' view (1992: 87) probably best states the circumstances: «The idea of major undifferentiated peoples such as Celts, Dacians, Thracians and Illyrians still remains useful as a general concept but attempts to define more precisely such groups lead to confusion and disintegration. ... In the case of the Illyrians the tendency of modern historical and linguistic researches has been to define Illyrians as a name applied by Greeks to a group of Indo-European-speaking peoples in Albania and Montenegro.»

² HATZOPOULOS (1982) 21-42 has argued that the battle and Philip's accession occurred in 360, but see HAMMOND (1994) 196-197 n. 12.

organization of his forces and equipped the men suitably with weapons of war ... he devised the compact order and the equipment of the phalanx ... and was the first to organize the Macedonian phalanx.»

Many accept Diodorus' implication that the *sarisa*-bearing phalanx was the product of Philip's first year in command of the Macedonian army without question³. John Ellis, Gene Borza, and G. T. Griffith, however, argue that, while Philip was responsible for the transformation of the Macedonian infantry, it was a drawn out process whose date of completion can only be guessed⁴, and it has even been argued that Philip did not introduce the *sarisa* into the ranks of his infantry until 338 BC⁵.

There is very little direct evidence regarding Philip's military reforms. The earliest reference to a *sarisa* in battle occurs in Didymus' account (*In Dem.* 11. 22, col. 13.3-7) of Philip's leg wound received in the campaign against the Triballi⁶, a campaign generally dated to 339 BC⁷. According to Didymus, Philip was stabbed by a *sarisa* during an engagement with the enemy. Plutarch (*Mor.* 331b), however, the only other author to mention a weapon with respect to this incident refers to it simply and amorphously as a *logkê*⁸. The earliest indisputably dated remains of *sarisai* spearheads are associated with the battle of Chaeroneia⁹. Based on inferential evidence this paper will conclude that Philip introduced the *sarisa* into the ranks of his infantry and probably his cavalry as well by 359/358 BC.

Whatever the truth of Thucydides's statement (II 100.2) that King Archelaus increased the number of available hoplites beyond anything that had existed previously in Macedonia, there is no evidence that this increase, which could not have been very large, had any lasting effect. Certainly, there is no indication of a competent Macedonian infantry force prior to or after this monarch's reign, and, indeed, virtually none

³ For example, HAMMOND (1994) 25-26.

⁴ ELLIS (1980) 53, 58; GRIFFITH (1980) 59; cf. GRIFFITH, in HAMMOND & GRIFFITH (1979) 421. BORZA (1990) 202 is doubtful that Philip could have instituted a major reorganization of the Macedonian army «within a brief six or seven months».

⁵ MARKLE (1978) 483, 486-489; cf. MARKLE (1977) 323.

⁶ Just. IX 3.1-2; cf. Plut., *Mor.* 331B; Dem. 18.67.

⁷ HAMMOND (1994) 137; HAMMOND & GRIFFITH (1979) 583.

⁸ HAMMOND (1994) 136-137 concludes that Philip was wounded by one of his own soldiers apparently basing this argument on the description of the weapon as a *sarisa*. However, the weapon may have been a long-thrusting spear employed by one of the Triballi (see note 70 and associated text); the use by Didymus of the term *sarisa* would then simply be anachronistic.

⁹ SOTIRIADES (1903) 301-330.

during his reign either¹⁰, most of which advantageously for Macedonia took place during the final stages of the Peloponnesian War, a period of Athenian weakness¹¹. Macedonian forces are most often listed as cavalry¹². While Herodotus (VII 185) does include Macedonians in his enumeration of Xerxes' forces, they appear to be exclusively cavalry and their use minimal. They were employed to protect Boeotian towns so that the Boeotians could join the Persian forces¹³. The cavalry were also present at the Battle of Plataea, but there is no such evidence for heavy Macedonian infantry (Hdts. IX 31.5, cf. 44.1). During the Peloponnesian War there are frequent references to Macedonian cavalry, but few to infantry of any kind¹⁴. While a force of hoplites was mustered in 423 BC by King Perdiccas II, these are listed separately from «his Macedonian subjects,» as from the «Hellenes living in Macedonia» (Thuc. IV 124.1), either coming from the Greek coastal cities¹⁵, or representing Greek migrants domiciled in Macedonia¹⁶. Regardless, these were not native Macedonian hoplites. In 429, Sitalces, the «King of the Thracians»¹⁷, was even able to drive Perdiccas from his throne and replace him with his own candidate, Amyntas, the son of Philip, Perdiccas' brother, without opposition¹⁸. Amyntas III lost many of his cities, including Pella, to the Olynthians in 383 BC. He was only successful in regaining them with the assistance of the Lacedaemonians¹⁹. In the first year of this campaign, the Spartan commander Teleutias prior to battle posted on his right wing his cavalry including «all of the Macedonians present» (ὅσοι τῶν Μακεδόνων παρήσαν)²⁰. There is no mention of Macedonian

¹⁰ He did successfully besiege Pydna with «a large force» (Diod. XIII 49.1-2).

¹¹ Archelaus avoided war to a very great extent. He stayed out of the Peloponnesian War, aided by the decline in Athenian power in particular after the Syracusan debacle, and apparently secured his western frontier through diplomacy and marriage (BORZA [1990] 163-164). Archelaus did intervene late in his reign in the affairs of Thessaly, intervening at the invitation of Larisa and acquiring the region of Perrhaebia (Pseudo-Herodes Atticus, *Peri Politeias* 4; Thrasymachus, *For the Larissaeans* 17; cf. BORZA [1990] 164-165; S. HORNBLOWER [1991] 186; HAMMOND & GRIFFITH [1979] 141).

¹² Cf. Thuc. I 61.1, 62.4, 63.2, 4, 124.1.

¹³ Hdts VIII 34; cf. Hdts. IX 67.

¹⁴ In 431 BC both the Peloponnesians and the Athenians during the siege of Potidaea availed themselves of Macedonian cavalry (Thuc. I 61.4, 62.2-3, 63.2).

¹⁵ GOMME (1969) 612.

¹⁶ HAMMOND (1995) 126 n. 20.

¹⁷ Diod. XII 50.1.

¹⁸ Diod. XII 50.6-7. Sitalces did invade with a very large force (Diod. XII 50.1).

¹⁹ Xen., *Hell.* V 2.13, 38, 3.26; Diod. XV 19.2-3, 20.3.

²⁰ Xen., *Hell.* V 2.40.

infantry. Later, Alexander II was forced to relinquish gains in Thessaly and to conclude an alliance with the Boeotians²¹, when the latter invaded Macedonia. To ensure the king's conduct in the future, Alexander was forced to surrender his brother Philip, the future king, as a hostage²². There is then no evidence for such a true heavy infantry force until the reign of Philip II.

In particular, the Macedonians were frequently the victims of Illyrian aggression. In addition to the disastrous defeat suffered by Perdiccas III in 359, his father Amyntas III was expelled from his kingdom twice by the Illyrians²³. The first expulsion occurred in 393/2 and lasted either a «short time» or «two years»²⁴. Amyntas was only able to recover his kingdom with the help of the Thessalians²⁵. In the second incident, occurring a decade later and lasting only three months, Amyntas was forced to pay tribute for the recovery of his kingdom²⁶.

Given this history of military weakness, the change in Macedonia's military fortunes in the reign of Philip II is stunning. From being at the mercy of his northern, western and eastern neighbors, not to mention the southern Greek cities, Philip came to dominate virtually the entire peninsula. While the full achievement of this domination took two decades, Philip by his defeat of Bardylis in 358 completely reversed the relationship of the Macedonians with the Illyrians. From Perdiccas's defeat and the loss of four thousand soldiers, Philip the next year emerged victorious with the Illyrians retreating completely from Macedonian territory with the loss of more than seven thousand of their own²⁷.

Nor was this campaign against the Illyrians the first successful exercise of Philip's forces. In 359, a pretender to his throne arose in the

²¹ Diod. XV 67.4.

²² Just. VII 5.1.

²³ Some scholars see these two incidents as a doublet (BORZA [1990] 182-184; *contra* ELLIS [1969] 3-4; HAMMOND & GRIFFITH [1979] 172-173). While Ellis is probably correct that the two references to Amyntas relinquishing control of his «borderland» to Olynthus may, indeed, be a doublet, there is sufficient information to suggest two distinct incidents. It is, however, likely that the Olynthians held this land continuously from 393/2 until 379 (Xen., *Hell.* V 3.26).

²⁴ Diod. XIV 92.3-4.

²⁵ Diod. XIV 92.3-4.

²⁶ Diod. XIV 19.2; Isoc. VI.46; cf. Diod. XVI 2.2; Diodorus's claim (XVI 2.2) that Philip was given as a hostage and subsequently delivered to the Thebans by the Illyrians is unlikely. Diodorus is here summarizing his material and has likely confused this episode with a later one involving Alexander II (Just. VII 5.1).

²⁷ Diod. XVI 5.7; Just. VII 6.7.

person of one Argaeus²⁸. He had the support of the Athenians, who sent out Mantias, an Athenian general, with a force of 3000 hoplites. Subsequently, Argaeus with a force of «mercenaries» marched on Aegae, but was rebuffed by the inhabitants²⁹. On his return to Methone he and his troops were attacked and defeated by Philip in an ambush³⁰. After this victory Philip made a truce with the Athenians and proclaimed his intention to form an alliance with them³¹; he had already withdrawn the Macedonian garrison from Amphipolis prior to the arrival of Mantias³². While the Athenian expeditionary force numbered approximately three thousand³³, it is unknown how many troops accompanied Argaeus. Apparently after Philip withdrew the garrison from Amphipolis the Athenians felt less urgency to deal with the new king. Diodorus notes that the Athenian commander did not accompany Argaeus, but sent him out with «the mercenaries»³⁴. Griffith's claim, however, that this victory by Philip and his army was a «small affair» underestimates it³⁵. In the first place, the actual size of the force that accompanied Argaeus, as mentioned, is unknown, and, given the high proportion of mercenaries in both previous and subsequent Athenian expeditions, could conceivably have been virtually the entire 3000. Most Athenian expeditions in the fourth century contained high numbers of mercenaries, and very few Athenian citizens. 7000 mercenaries served during Timotheus's siege of Samos in 366³⁶, and Chares' force in Asia was apparently almost entirely mercenary³⁷. Both Isocrates (VII 9; VIII 44) and Demosthenes (IV

²⁸ HAMMOND in HAMMOND & GRIFFITH (1979) 175-176 (cf. J. HESKEL [1996] 39-40) argues that this is one of the three sons of King Archelaus, who may have ruled with Illyrian support as Argaeus II from 393/2-392/1 (Diod. XIV 92.4; Euseb., *Chron.* 200.11). See above.

²⁹ Diod. XVI 2.6, 3.5-6.

³⁰ Diod. XVI 3.6; Dem. XXIII 121; Just. VII 6.6.

³¹ Dem XXIII 121.

³² Diod. XVI 3.3; cf. Polyæn. IV 2.17.

³³ 3000 troops sailed with Mantias to Methone (Diod. XVI 2.6), but it is unclear how many actually accompanied Argaeus on his march to Aegae. ELLIS (1976) 49 states without evidence that Argaeus proceeded only with «his own mercenaries, his fellow exiles and ... a few Athenians ...»

³⁴ Diod. XVI 3.5; Justin (VII 6.6) and Libanius (XV 45) state that Philip's first battle was with «the Athenians,» and the latter further states that «Athenian prisoners» were taken (XX 23).

³⁵ HAMMOND & GRIFFITH (1979) 211.

³⁶ Polyæn. III 10.9-10.

³⁷ Schol. Dem. IV 19; cf. Dem. IV 19, 24; Diod. XVI 22.1.

19-20) bemoan the large expenditures on mercenary troops, and the latter even urged the Athenians to use their own citizen hoplites instead of mercenaries. Additionally, it is clear that Argaeus was accompanied by an unknown number of Macedonians. A similar situation occurred during the Peloponnesian War when, as part of their cavalry force, the Athenians took on an expedition to Methone «Macedonian exiles»³⁸. After the battle in 359, Philip demanded and received the surrender of these Macedonian «exiles»³⁹. Consequently, Griffith's claim that Argaeus's «hoplites and peltasts» were unsupported is unlikely. While the character of these «exiles» is not mentioned, it is probable that they were aristocrats, and hence, cavalry. Secondly, in the past a relatively small force of Greek hoplites had usually been sufficient to overcome any Macedonian force. In 432 BC, a force of three thousand Athenian hoplites, supported by a rebel Macedonian cavalry force, had forced Perdiccas II to make an alliance⁴⁰, and in 367, the pretender Pausanias⁴¹ invaded Macedonia with a force of «Greeks,» presumably mercenaries, and captured Anthemus, Therme, Strepsa, and certain other places. In the case of Pausanias, it was Iphicrates who drove him from Macedonia, not the Macedonian king (Aeschin. II 27-29).

It is also to be noted that Philip's later characteristic swiftness is found in this surprise attack on Argaeus. Clearly Argaeus and his supporters did not expect Philip to appear on the scene. At the time of the march from Methone to Aegae, Philip probably had concentrated his forces at a central location, likely Pella⁴². He clearly was not in Aegae⁴³. While our sources are limited in their description of this action, it bears close resemblance to Alexander's later operations in Asia. Alexander often used a combination of elite heavy infantry, units of cavalry and light-armed infantry, to move prodigious distances with great rapidity⁴⁴. On his return to Areia after that region's satrap revolted, Alexander's forces covered approximately seventy-five miles in two days⁴⁵. It is very possible that Philip's operation against Argaeus was the forerunner of these

³⁸ Thuc. VI 7.3.

³⁹ Diod. XVI 3.6.

⁴⁰ Thuc. I 61.1-4.

⁴¹ He was a member of the royal family (Diod. XVI 2.6; Schol. Aeschin. II 27), perhaps descended from Archelaus (HAMMOND & GRIFFITH [1979] 184).

⁴² HAMMOND & GRIFFITH (1979) 211-212 and 212 n. 2.

⁴³ Cf. Diod. XVI 3.6.

⁴⁴ E.g. Arr., *Anab.* II 4.3; III 23.3; IV 23.1.

⁴⁵ Arr., *Anab.* III 25.6.

later actions by Alexander. If Philip was in Pella, he was at that time approximately 40 miles from Aegae⁴⁶; the distance from Methone to Aegae is less than eighteen miles. It is unlikely that Philip, wherever he was, would have known of the operation before Argaeus left Methone. Even if he had known of Mantias' expedition before it reached Methone, it is doubtful that he would have known its destination. That Philip and his forces were able to intercept Argaeus before he could return to Methone indicates that he covered considerable distance in sufficient time to catch Argaeus and his forces before they could cover the short distance to their home base. Moreover, it is clear that Philip's forces were more than cavalry, for Diodorus (XVI 3.6) remarks: «As a result of this victory in this first battle Philip made the Macedonians more confident in facing subsequent conflicts.» A victory by the aristocratic cavalry would hardly instill such confidence in the foot soldiers. Infantry units must have been participants.

Moreover, this was not the only successful campaign waged by Philip in the months following his predecessor's defeat and death. Shortly after the disaster at the hands of the Illyrians, the Paeonians had invaded Macedonia⁴⁷, but had been bought off by Philip⁴⁸. Early in 358, the new Macedonian monarch, hearing of the death of the Paeonian king, Agis, invaded Paeonia and, having defeated the Paeonians in battle, made that state subject to his authority⁴⁹. Even though the information regarding this campaign exists only in the brief notice found in Diodorus, it is once again a successful military operation.

These two victories suggest that under Philip the Macedonians had rapidly recovered from both the severity and shock of their previous defeat, and while the magnitude of the forces involved in the campaigns against Argaeus and the Paeonians can only be guessed, the numbers involved in Philip's subsequent confrontation with Bardylis are known. The Macedonian army consisted of 10000 infantry and 600 cavalry⁵⁰; the Illyrian, 10000 infantry and 500 horsemen⁵¹. Since Philip emerged

⁴⁶ While Aegae is less than 25 miles from Pella today, it is believed that in the fourth century BC the Thermaic Gulf extended approximately twenty miles further inland (see BORZA [1990] 39).

⁴⁷ Diod. XVI 2.6.

⁴⁸ Diod. XVI 3.4.

⁴⁹ Diod. XVI 4.2; cf. Dem. I 23; Isoc. V 21; Paeonia was not incorporated into Macedonia, but continued to be ruled by its own monarchs (MERKER [1965] 44).

⁵⁰ Diod. XVI 4.3.

⁵¹ Diod. XVI 4.4.

victorious in this battle as well, there would appear to be strong evidence that the new Macedonian king had introduced notable changes into the Macedonian military⁵².

One difficulty with this assumption is that Philip would appear to have had too little time to affect significant changes between his accession to the throne and his confrontation with Bardylis⁵³. However, in Speusippas' *Letter to Philip* (30.12)⁵⁴, it is claimed that Plato, probably through his associate Euphraeus, who was an intimate of Philip's brother Perdiccas, «laid the basis for Philip's rule during the reign of his brother.» Carystius of Pergamum, a second-century BC writer, further claims that Euphraeus convinced the monarch to give Philip a portion of his kingdom to govern⁵⁵. This may have occurred in 364⁵⁶, the year after Perdiccas's accession and of Philip's return from Thebes⁵⁷, and of Euphraeus's appearance at the Macedonian court⁵⁸. If this is the case, then Philip may have been training troops and experimenting with different military equipment and tactics as long as four or five years before the disaster in 359⁵⁹. Indeed, Carystius reports that because of this apportionment of territory, Philip had his forces in a state of readiness when Perdiccas died⁶⁰. Unfortunately no source gives the location of this region put under Philip's control. There are, however, indications that it was in the east. The Illyrians, as noted, had been for some time a danger in the west, and it was in an attempt to repel their invasion in 359 that Perdiccas met his death. It would make sense that, if the monarch was to be heavily involved in western Macedonia, Philip then should have been placed in the east to protect that Macedonian frontier, and there is some evidence to support this. Diodorus (XVI 2.6) states in the context of the immediate aftermath of Perdiccas' defeat and death that the Athenians were on «bad terms» with Philip. Given a lack of any further explanation, it could be concluded that this would have involved Amphipolis. At

⁵² See HAMMOND & GRIFFITH (1979) 213; HAMMOND (1980) 58.

⁵³ BORZA (1990) 202; MARKLE (1978) 486-487.

⁵⁴ See the new edition of this letter in NATOLI (2004) 108. The letter is generally thought by scholars to be authentic, perhaps «unhappily authentic» (BRUNT [1993] 292). For a full bibliography see NATOLI (2004) 17 n. 11.

⁵⁵ *FGrHist* 356 F1 = Athen. XI 506e-f.

⁵⁶ HAMMOND (1994) 18 and 196 n. 2.

⁵⁷ Cf. Just. VII 5.3.

⁵⁸ NATOLI (2004) 32.

⁵⁹ HAMMOND (1994) 18-19 states without evidence that Perdiccas gave Philip «King's forces, consisting of excellent cavalry and hoplite infantry.»

⁶⁰ *FGrHist* 356 F1 = Athen. XI 506f.

the time of Philip's accession to the throne there was a Macedonian garrison in place in Amphipolis⁶¹. Moreover, Pausanias who had unsuccessfully invaded Macedonia in 367 was still alive and preparing with the support of Cotys, the king of the Odrysian Thracians, to invade once more when the latter died early in 359⁶². Having Philip in the east, probably in Mygdonia, would be a counter to this possibility. Mygdonia along with Anthemus controlled both banks of the Axios in its lower course⁶³. Anthemus in particular was apparently regarded as the personal possession of the king. In 505⁶⁴, Amyntas I had offered the entire region to Hippias⁶⁵, and later Philip as king ceded the same region briefly to the Olynthians in 357 to win their favor⁶⁶.

If Philip then did introduce military changes this early in his reign, what were they? Did he, as is suggested in Diodorus, introduce the full-fledged Macedonian phalanx, with heavy infantry bearing *sarisai*? In answering this question, it would be useful to know the nature of the Illyrian infantry which Perdiccas had faced and which Philip would meet in battle in order to determine what possible changes in Macedonian armament and/or tactics would be most effective in combating this force. The evidence, unfortunately, is unclear. In the first place, there is very little contemporary evidence of any kind. Our literary sources are mostly silent on Illyrian tactics or weaponry. Thucydides (IV 126.5-6) has Brasidas in a talk to his retreating soldiers describe the attacking Illyrians as unable to fight in any regular order and not able to withstand an infantry attack. He continues that they fought best at a distance, and that «their independent mode of fighting never leaves anyone who wants to run away without a fair excuse for doing so.» The passage would suggest that the Illyrians operated as light-armed infantry, akin to typical Greek peltasts, but this is, of course, a contrived speech put in the mouth of a commander in the context of attempting to minimize the danger his

⁶¹ Diod. XVI 3.3; cf. Polyae. IV 2.17; the garrison probably dates either from the reign of Ptolemaeus, or from that of Perdiccas III (Aesch. II 29).

⁶² Diod. XVI 2.6; Diodorus does not mention the Thracian king by name, and while Griffith (HAMMOND & GRIFFITH [1979] 208) believes that Cotys was already dead and had been succeeded by his three sons (cf. TOD [1948] II, no. 151), ELLIS (1976) 250 n. 5 is surely correct that the former was still alive, but assassinated in 359 thus forestalling the proposed invasion.

⁶³ HAMMOND (1994) 18 suggests Amphraxis.

⁶⁴ For the date, see HAMMOND & GRIFFITH (1979) 59.

⁶⁵ Hdts V 94.1.

⁶⁶ Dem. VI 20.

troops faced at the hands of the Illyrians. However, Ennius (*Ann.* Frg 540 = Oldfather, 249), the early second-century BC Roman poet, describes the Illyrians as fighting with *sibinae*, long hunting spears, and *sicae*, curved swords. Moreover, the description of Philip's battle with Bardylis suggests that some at least of the latter's troops may have been armed as heavy infantrymen⁶⁷. The Illyrians do form an infantry square⁶⁸. But there are also archaeological remains, in particular, a fifth-century BC belt buckle from Vače, Slovenia⁶⁹, which depict Illyrian troops. This buckle shows soldiers carrying oblong shields and either wielding a short sword or carrying what appear to be javelins.

With respect to defensive armor, the buckle shows greaves, but no breastplates. Slim as the evidence is, it still appears to suggest that Illyrians were armed primarily for hit-and-run tactics, as Brasidas' speech suggests. The square formation found in Philip II's battle with Bardylis and the later Roman evidence from Ennius, however, show the limits of construing too much from Brasidas's derogatory reference or the limited artistic depictions.

Further, the evidence regarding the employment of infantry in the north suggests that light-armed infantry dominated that particular military arena as well. This is especially true with respect to the other great tribal neighbors of the Macedonians, the Thracians and the Paeonians. Artistic renderings, archaeological finds, and literary references, show Thracian infantry armed with javelins, but also on occasion with long-thrusting spears⁷⁰. The evidence for the armament of the Paeonians is even more sparse, but the indications are that they also relied on light-armed infantry. Under Alexander the Great, Paeonians served as light cavalry, skirmishers and scouts⁷¹. Even the Olynthians in 382 BC had

⁶⁷ STIPČEČIĆ (1977) 170.

⁶⁸ Diod. XVI 5.6; it is interesting to note that Brasidas to resist the attacks of the Illyrians formed his hoplites into a square with his light infantry on the inside (Thuc. IV 125.2).

⁶⁹ There are later finds from tombs in the area of ancient Illyria, but these are generally regarded as Macedonian. This is particularly true of the so-called Gradiste plate, found near Lake Ochrid in modern day Albania (see LIAMPI [1998] 79, S 35).

⁷⁰ See the evidence collected and published by BEST (1969). It has also been suggested that Thracian thrusting spears were topped with sickles (N. SEKUNDA [1981], p. 275-288). These weapons then would have been strikingly similar to the halberds used by Medieval Swiss and English armies.

⁷¹ Arr., *Anab.* I 14.1, 6; II 9.2; III 13.3; the only other evidence regarding the armament of the Paeonians comes from Homer (*Il.* XXI 136, 155) who has them carrying long spears or bows (*Il.* II 848; X 428).

only 800 hoplites but «many more peltasts.»⁷² If light-armed infantry was the dominant form of infantry with the Thracians, the Illyrians, and even the more urbanized Chalcidians, then it is likely that this would have been the case with the Macedonians as well. Yet, the occasional depictions of and references to long thrusting spears with respect to some of Macedonia's tribal neighbors might suggest that Macedonians likewise had some experience with such weapons.

The formation of the square by Bardylis in his battle with Philip was made necessary by the success of the latter's cavalry against their opposing numbers. Diodorus (XVI 4.6) states it was the success of the cavalry attacking the flanks and rear of the Illyrian formation that led to Philip's ultimate victory. The square was a common formation to use when defending against cavalry⁷³. While the triumph of the Macedonian cavalry might suggest that Philip had redesigned the Macedonian cavalry to carry the shorter cavalry *sarisa*, there could, of course, be other causes as well, including numerical superiority. The success of his foot soldiers in holding their own against the previously victorious Illyrians, however, is suggestive of a change in the typical Macedonian infantry, especially when taken in conjunction with the previous victories over Argaeus and the Paeonians. While Diodorus' description (XVI 4.5-6) of the battle leaves much to be desired, he does state that it was a hard-fought contest with heavy casualties on both sides. He also notes that Philip led «the pick of his foot soldiers» on his right wing. Later Alexander would arrange his phalanx with the hypaspists, the elite of the infantry, on his wing⁷⁴.

The hypaspists were the infantry guard unit in both Philip's and Alexander's military. These were professional, citizen-soldiers, modeled after the Theban Sacred Band⁷⁵. W.W. Tarn long ago recognized that the hypaspists derived from «a standing footguard, probably small, whose duty was to guard [the king's] person, not only in battle but at all times ...»⁷⁶ Apparently every tribal chief had his own personal armed retinue,

⁷² Xen., *Hell.* V 2.14; see BEST (1969) 112.

⁷³ Xen., *Anab.* III 1.36, 4.19-20, 28, 43. In Sogdiana, under attack from the superior cavalry of Spitamenes, the Macedonian infantry formed a square and retreated but was cut down and annihilated (Arr., *Anab.* IV 5.6). Brasidas in his retreat from Lyncestis formed a square to protect his forces from the onslaught of the Illyrians and successfully extricated his army (Thuc. IV 125.2).

⁷⁴ Arr., *Anab.* I 14.2; II 8.3; III 11.9; IV 24.1.

⁷⁵ ANSON (1985) 246-248.

⁷⁶ (1948) 148. This is likely the origin of Thucydides's statement (II 100.2) that King Archelaus increased the number of available hoplites beyond anything that existed

troops who attended the monarch on a permanent basis. Langaras, the king of the Agrianians, possessed just such a personal guard, «the finest and best armed troops he possessed» (Arr., *Anab.* I 5.2). This body of professional infantry was initially known as the *pezhetairoi*. Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F348) uses this term when describing Philip's royal guard. «The picked men out of all the Macedonians, the tallest and strongest, served as the King's Guards, and they were called the *pezhetairoi*.»⁷⁷

With Alexander these troops were regularly used in situations requiring speed and maneuverability. The hypaspists were more mobile than Alexander's «typical» Macedonian phalangites⁷⁸, and regularly «equipped for hand-to-hand warfare.»⁷⁹ In Hyrcania, Alexander advanced with the hypaspists and the «lightest-armed and more nimble of the Macedonian phalanx.»⁸⁰ Before the Cilician Gates, Alexander divided the army, with Parmenio being given the «more heavily armed foot battalions.» Alexander proceeded with the hypaspists, archers, and the Agrianes⁸¹.

Finally, these troops, as their original name implies, were the king's foot companions, his comrades, as the aristocrats were his «horse» companions, the *hetairoi*. This creation of a permanent, and hence professional, heavy infantry force, on the one hand mirrored the Sacred Band of Thebes⁸², and on the other was an expansion of the *hetairos* relationship

previously in Macedonia. What that monarch did was probably equip his infantry guard as hoplite troops. The number of the guard can only be guessed, but it is unlikely that it would have numbered the 300 «royal guards» associated with the Spartans and supposedly with Romulus (Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* II 13).

⁷⁷ It is unlikely that Theopompus has confused the titles of the guard and the regular infantry (ELLIS [1976] 53). GRIFFITH (in HAMMOND & GRIFFITH [1979] 406) is correct that Theopompus, a knowledgeable contemporary, «is almost sure to be right.» Demosthenes (II 16-17) relates that the majority of Macedonians, «those who had suffered many campaigns,» but then the orator goes on to mention «his mercenaries and *pezhetairoi*» as separate units. Demosthenes thus indicates that the personal relationship of king and foot-soldier had, as of 349, not been extended to the infantry as a whole.

⁷⁸ MILNS (1971) 187-188.

⁷⁹ Arr., *Anab.* II 20.6.

⁸⁰ Arr., *Anab.* III 23.3; cf. I 27.8.

⁸¹ Arr., *Anab.* II 4.3.

⁸² Plut., *Pelop.* 18-19; Philip had been himself a hostage in Thebes and would have seen the effectiveness of this unit (*Pelop.* 26). The concept of creating a professional-citizen corps within an otherwise usually recruited citizen army, however, did not originate with the Thebans, but rather with the Argives (Diod. XII 75.7; Thuc. V 67.2). While the «1000» were militarily effective (Diod. XII 79.4, 6-7; Thuc. V 73.2-3), they also proved dangerous to the Argive democracy and were eventually put to death (Diod. XII 80.2-3).

to the non-aristocratic class. Over time, as Philip's successes mounted and his resources increased substantially, the personal relationship between king and soldiers was expanded to include Philip's entire heavy infantry⁸³, with the guard being expanded to 3000 men and their name changed to hypaspists, perhaps, a previous unofficial title reflecting their position as king's guards⁸⁴.

In analyzing Philip's campaigns in 359-358, what becomes evident is that the king's forces were capable of rapid movement and more than competent fighting. This ability to engage successfully an enemy itself adept at rapid movement appears also in the battle against the Paeonians. Clearly they were not able to resist or evade Philip's conquest. In the battle with Bardylis the position of Philip's «pick of the Macedonians» on the right wing⁸⁵, so clearly reminiscent of the position of the hypaspists in Alexander's campaigns, is highly suggestive.

By his battle with Bardylis it would appear clear that Philip had instituted a core professional infantry unit. Philip made three changes in what probably had been a traditional Macedonian royal guard. Whatever its original size, Philip had expanded the corps, perhaps, to 1000 men⁸⁶, and while these troops could fight with the smaller round shield and the *sarisa*⁸⁷, they were also trained and armed as hoplites, and throughout the campaigns of Alexander they most often carried a modified hoplite panoply⁸⁸. With respect to the remainder of his 10000 infantry, it is also obvious that something dramatic had changed in the time since their devastating defeat at the hands of the Illyrians. Philip had been able to replace the losses suffered in that defeat and had trained his troops to a high level of efficiency in a relatively short period of time. While Philip may have had years to develop and train his guard and experiment with various arms and tactical formations, he did not have charge of the full military complement of Macedonia until his brother's death. The transformation of these troops was then, indeed, done in short order.

⁸³ See ANSON (2004) 226-230.

⁸⁴ This was the title applied to Langaras' guard.

⁸⁵ Diod. XVI 4.5; Frontin. II 3.2.

⁸⁶ See ANSON (1985) 248.

⁸⁷ MILNS (1971) 187-188.

⁸⁸ Many modern commentators describe the guards as equipped with the hoplite panoply (M.M. MARKLE [1977], p. 323, 329; W. HECKEL [2005], p. 189-194; E.M. ANSON [2010]; others, however, see them as armed with the pike (R.D. MILNS [1971], p. 188; N.G.L. HAMMOND & G.T. GRIFFITH [1979], p. 417-418, 424; G.T. GRIFFITH [1981], p. 166-167).

Moreover, the consequences of the defeat and the dangers threatening from all directions would have left Perdiccas' successor with a scarcity of material assets. Philip then had to rebuild the Macedonian army with only very limited resources. His lack of wealth suggests that even though the guard was well-armed and trained, the rest of the infantry could not have been comparably equipped. In addition to the complete lack of experience as heavy infantry there was not a significant urban middle class capable of affording the necessary panoply, and Philip was in no position to purchase it for them. What were to become the major cities of Macedonia later in Philip's reign were at this time either outside the monarch's control (i.e. Methone, Pydna, and Amphipolis), or relatively small in population⁸⁹. At the beginning of Philip's reign his military innovations would have to have taken account of his financial and political situation. The use of the pike would have involved little cost and required only limited training.

Given that Philip did eventually equip the mass of his heavy infantry with *peltê* and *sarisa*, the only question concerns the date. Was it as late as the Battle of Charoneia, or was it done in the first year of Philip's reign or sometime in between? While the evidence is practically nonexistent there are, however, indications that Philip did introduce this panoply prior to his confrontation with Bardylis. In the first place, such an innovation would have involved little cost and required only limited training. Nicolai Machiavelli comments that the Swiss pikemen of his day came into existence because of the poverty of the Swiss cantons⁹⁰. The use of a pike enabled the individual infantryman to carry a lighter shield and wear less body armor than would be required of a hoplite. Hence, acquiring the weaponry would involve far less expense. Like hoplites, these troops armed with pikes would be organized as interdependent blocks of infantry, thus putting less emphasis on the ability of the individual soldier and encouraging unit solidarity. While Philip had time to experiment militarily during his brother's reign, he did not have time between the death of his brother and his confrontation with Bardylis to develop fully the potential of this new arm of the conscript Macedonian army. Additionally, unlike the hoplites, these troops would be

⁸⁹ With respect to the largest city in Lower Macedonia, Pella, the Roman geographer Roman Strabo (VII frg 20) comments that before it was «enlarged» by Philip, it was a «small city.»

⁹⁰ MACHIAVELLI (1965) 47.

able to fight at some distance from their opponents. To conscripted soldiers, serving with the memory of the disaster that was the result of their previous encounter with the Illyrians, this would aid their confidence.

The great weakness in this new formation was its lack of flexibility. It required level and clear ground with no obstacles⁹¹, and was ineffective in small units or with single soldiers⁹². With respect to the latter, the combat between Coragus and Dioxippus during Alexander's Asian expedition clearly showed the insufficiency of the pike in a one-on-one struggle⁹³. As Hammond states, «[the *sarisa*] was unsuitable for skirmishing, besieging, street-fighting, ambushing, [and] mountaineering.»⁹⁴ This lack of flexibility required that pike phalanxes be supported by an array of other arms, cavalry, light-armed infantry, and hoplites. Even though hoplites were most effective in, and designed for, warfare in the compact phalanx⁹⁵, they were capable of individual combat especially against opposing troops in disarray, when the cohesion of that infantry collapsed⁹⁶. With an excellent cavalry, a unit of 1000 hoplites, and numbers of light-armed troops, Philip could protect his pikemen and use them as the anvil in what is commonly referred to as the «hammer and anvil» battle tactic. In the army that Alexander brought to Asia, the Macedonian infantry was «the anvil,» the force that held in check the enemy infantry while the cavalry became «the hammer» that delivered the decisive charge and was responsible for most of his victories⁹⁷.

Moreover, the introduction of the pike into Macedonian warfare, as noted earlier, may not have been that great an innovation. Pikes had been the traditional weapons of the native Egyptian infantry⁹⁸, but much closer to home Thracian peltasts were not armed uniformly with javelins, but some also carried 10-12 foot thrusting spears⁹⁹. The Athenian general Iphicrates apparently had also experimented with equipping his

⁹¹ Polyb. XVIII 31.5-6; at the battle of Mantinea in 207 BC, a small ditch was sufficient to result in the defeat of the Spartan phalanx of pikemen (Polyb. XI 15.7-16.3).

⁹² Polyb. XVIII 32.9.

⁹³ Diod. XVII 100.2-101.2; Curt. IX 7.16-23.

⁹⁴ HAMMOND (1980) 53.

⁹⁵ HOLLADAY (1982) 94-97; HANSON (1989) 28-29, 169-170, 198; SCHWARTZ (2002) 31-64.

⁹⁶ HOLLADAY (1982) 94; HANSON (1989) 165-166.

⁹⁷ FERRILL (1997) 188, 206-208, 216; MAY, STADLER & VOTAW (1984) 22.

⁹⁸ Xen., Cyr. VI 2.10; VII 1.33.

⁹⁹ A point made by BEST (1969) 7, 102-104, 139-142, and most recently by LONDON (2005) 96-97.

troops with 10 or 12-foot spears in 374 BC¹⁰⁰. Philip would have seen the advantages in arming a sizable number of his Macedonians with the longer spear. Since javelin men were trained to attack and then retreat hastily, the new equipment meant that Macedonian infantry now could engage successfully against opposing units of heavy infantry. While Philip's new *sarisa*-armed troops were little different from similar soldiers occasionally used by Macedonia's neighbors, his coordination of these with his hypaspists, cavalry, and light-armed troops was an innovation previously unknown. Diodorus' declaration (XVI 3.1-2), then, in the context of the immediate aftermath of Perdiccas' death, that «[Philip] first put together the Macedonian phalanx» is correct. Later, Philip would increase his hypaspist corps to 3000, expand his pike-bearing infantry, enlarge his cavalry, hire large numbers of mercenaries, and supplement his army with allies, but his reign's first year witnessed the basic innovations that were to transform Macedonia into a world power.

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¹⁰⁰ Diod. XV 44.2-4; Nepos, *Iph.* 1.3-4; see ANDERSON (1970) 129-131. GRIFFITH (1981) 164 is, however, correct that these troops were hoplites and not originally light-armed peltasts (*contra* BEST [1969] 105; ANDERSON [1970] 130). Diodorus (XV 44.2-3) states that the troops were formerly called hoplites. Best argues that Iphicrates did not introduce any major reforms, but simply used peltasts in a more aggressive way against hoplites, which led to confusion on the part of Diodorus (BEST [1969] 110).

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UN IMPRENDITORE DI SUCCESSO DEL I SECOLO A.C.: C. SERGIO ORATA

Abstract: Quelques sources éparses et fragmentaires attestent les entreprises florissantes de C. Sergius Orata (première moitié du I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.). À l'élevage de poissons et d'huîtres dans la région du lac Lucrin, élevage dont il fut l'initiateur, il joignait une activité tout aussi lucrative: la construction de villas pourvues de piscines suspendues, qu'il vendait ensuite avec grand profit. Mais la thèse généralement admise, d'après laquelle il avait inventé les piscines à hypocauste, ne paraît pas convaincante. Le témoignage de Dion Cassius, en particulier, porte à croire qu'il utilisait plutôt les eaux thermales de la Campanie pour alimenter ses piscines. Les nouveautés introduites dans l'élevage des poissons étaient liées à l'utilisation des piscines suspendues. Celles-ci lui permettaient d'exploiter au mieux l'espace disponible, ainsi que les particularités des eaux du lac Lucrin, ce qui a contribué beaucoup à l'essor économique de la région.

La tradizione antica, indirizzata a mettere in rilievo soprattutto gli aspetti storici e letterari, ha in genere trascurato gli elementi economici e sociali, che rivestono invece per noi un interesse notevole nell'analisi della civiltà romana; accade così che fatti e personaggi che pure hanno avuto una notevole importanza nella vita comune degli antichi siano assai poco conosciuti e studiati. E' il caso della vicenda di C. Sergio Orata, un uomo d'affari fiorito agli inizi del I secolo a.C., la cui attività ci è nota da fonti assai sparse e parziali, in gran parte interessate piuttosto a darne un giudizio morale che non ad offrire una ricostruzione ed una valutazione di quanto egli fece; la sua figura è stata quindi oggetto di studi¹ piuttosto superficiali e non privi, come si vedrà, di errori e di confusioni.

Orata è noto in primo luogo per un processo che Cicerone menziona in due occasioni come un caso particolarmente controverso di contrasto fra la lettera della legge e circostanze particolari, non espressamente previste dal legislatore. Nel *De oratore*, infatti, L. Licinio Crasso, console nel 95² e oratore fra i più famosi al suo tempo³, afferma d'aver difeso

¹ Cfr. ad es. F. MÜNZER, s.v. *Sergius*, nr. 33, *RE* IIA 2 (1923), col. 1713-1714; A. MAIURI, *Passeggiate campane*, Firenze 1950, p. 29; J.H. D'ARMS, *Romans on the Bay of Naples and Other Essays on Roman Campania*, Bari 2003, p. 31-35.

² Cfr. T.R.S. BROUGHTON, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, II, New York 1952, p. 11.

³ Cfr. *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta liberae Rei Publicae*, ed. H. MALCOVATI, Torino 1955², p. 237-259, con raccolta dei frammenti.

recentemente (*nuper*) Orata contro M. Mario Gratidiano, a sua volta patrocinato da M. Antonio, nonno del triumviro ed anch'egli oratore assai noto⁴. Gratidiano aveva venduto ad Orata una casa, senza menzionare nel contratto le servitù a cui una parte dell'immobile era sottoposta; nella sua difesa Crasso aveva sostenuto che il venditore doveva rispondere di tutte le servitù dell'oggetto venduto se, conoscendole, non le aveva dichiarate⁵.

I termini della questione sono chiariti assai meglio nel *De officiis*, dove Cicerone cita la vicenda come un esempio del fatto che il codice civile non può comprendere tutti i casi di reticenza. Gratidiano, in effetti, aveva rivenduto ad Orata una casa che aveva acquistata da lui stesso pochi anni prima; sull'immobile gravava una servitù, di cui non era stata fatta menzione nell'atto di vendita. Di conseguenza, nel processo Crasso si era basato sul diritto (*ius*), perché il venditore non aveva dichiarato il difetto, pur essendone a conoscenza, e ne era quindi responsabile; Antonio, invece, si era fondato sull'*aequitas*, sottolineando che la servitù era comunque nota ad Orata, già proprietario della casa, e che pertanto non era necessario menzionarla nell'atto di vendita, né il compratore poteva affermare d'essere stato ingannato⁶. Il commento finale di Cicerone, che dice d'aver citato questo caso a dimostrazione del fatto che agli antenati, fondatori del diritto, non piacevano i furbi⁷, conferma l'evidenza della condotta astuta di Orata, che cercava di servirsi di un cavillo per ottenere un risarcimento per un difetto di cui era stato a conoscenza al momento dell'acquisto. Il processo ebbe luogo nel 91⁸ ed è possibile che si sia svolto a Baia, dove Antonio e probabilmente anche Crasso avevano una villa e dove sorgeva la villa di Gaio Mario, zio di Gratidiano⁹.

⁴ Cfr. H. MALCOVATI, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 221-237.

⁵ Cic., *de orat.* I 39.178: *Quid? Nuper, cum ego C. Sergi Oratae contra hunc nostrum Antonium iudicio privato causam defenderem, nonne omnis nostra in iure versata defensio est? Cum enim M. Marius Gratidianus aedis Oratae vendidisset neque servire quandam earum aedium partem in Mancipi lege dixisset, defendebamus, quicquid fuisset incommodi in Mancipio, id si venditor scisset neque declarasset, praestare debere.*

⁶ Cic., *de off.* III 16.67. J.H. D'ARMS (*op. cit.* p. 34-35) fraintende il passo, ritenendo che la servitù fosse intervenuta dopo che Gratidiano aveva acquistato la casa da Orata.

⁷ Cic., *loc. cit.*: *Quorsus haec? Ut illud intellegas, non placuisse maioribus nostris astutos.*

⁸ Il *De oratore* è infatti ambientato nel settembre di quell'anno, pochi giorni prima della morte di Crasso (Cic., *de orat.* I 7.24; III 1.1).

⁹ Cfr. già, in via ipotetica, F. MÜNZER, *art. cit.* (n. 1), col. 1714; J.H. D'ARMS, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 34-35, le cui argomentazioni sono tuttavia ampiamente viziate, come si vedrà, dall'identificazione di questo processo con quello attestato da Valerio Massimo.

Una conferma in proposito mi sembra offerta da una testimonianza di Plinio il Vecchio, che in ogni caso attesta come gli interessi d'affari di Orata si fossero rivolti prevalentemente verso quella località campana, già allora meta di un turismo d'élite, che comportava soggiorni termali e la costruzione di sontuose ville¹⁰. Plinio, infatti, afferma che Orata fu il primo ad introdurre i vivai di ostriche a Baia, al tempo dell'oratore Crasso e prima della guerra sociale, e lo fece non per golosità, ma per avidità, ottenendo grandi guadagni grazie al suo ingegno: egli infatti fu il primo ad inventare i bagni pensili ed allestiva così ville abbellite con tali mezzi, che vendeva subito dopo¹¹. La testimonianza di Plinio ben si accorda con quella di Cicerone, poiché la guerra sociale ebbe inizio appunto nel 91; essa attesta quindi che, già prima di quella data, gli interessi di Orata si erano volti decisamente verso le nuove possibilità economiche che lo sviluppo di Baia prometteva; ma dimostra pure che all'attività dell'allevamento dei pesci, che gli studiosi concordano nel ritenere suo interesse esclusivo, Orata univa anche importanti iniziative immobiliari, mediante la costruzione di ville con piscine sospese, che poi rivendeva con forte utile. Questa duplice attività è del resto confermata implicitamente da Valerio Massimo, il quale, pur accentrando ampiamente il suo interesse sull'allevamento dei pesci, afferma:

C. Sergius Orata pensilia balinea primus facere instituit. quae inpensa a levibus initiis coepta ad suspensa calidae aquae tantum non aequora penetravit¹².

L'iperbole usata da Valerio Massimo chiarisce fino a che punto l'invenzione di Orata dovesse stupire i contemporanei (e scandalizzare i moralisti); ma converrà chiarire in che cosa essa consistesse realmente. Il riferimento a *balineae pensiles* è stato infatti riferito, in genere, alla costruzione di piscine ad ipocausto¹³, ma queste sono attestate già in

¹⁰ Cfr. in particolare J.H. D'ARMS, *op. cit.* (n. 1), *passim*; G. MARASCO, *Aspetti sociali, economici e culturali del termalismo nel mondo romano*, SCO 47 (2004), p. 19ss.

¹¹ Plin., *Nat. Hist.* IX 79.168: *Ostreorum vivaria primus omnium Sergius Orata invenit in Baiano aetate L. Crassi oratoris, ante Marsicum bellum, nec gulae causa sed avaritiae, magna vectigalia tali ex ingenio suo percipiens, ut qui primus pensiles invenerit balneas, ita mangonicatas villas subinde vendendo*. Cfr. anche Cic., *Hortens.* fr. 68 Grilli (= Non., p. 285, 18 Lindsay): *Primus balneola suspendit, inclusit pisces*.

¹² Val. Max. IX 1.1.

¹³ Cfr. J.H. TURNER, *Sergius Orata. Pioneer of Radiant Heating*, CJ 43 (1948), p. 486-487; I. NIELSEN, *Considerazioni sulle prime fasi dell'evoluzione dell'edificio termale romano*, ARID 14 (1985), p. 98ss.; Id., *Thermae et balnea. The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Republican Baths*, Aarhus 1993², I, p. 20-21; O. WIKANDER, *Senators*

epoca greca¹⁴ ed erano ampiamente usate nelle terme e raccomandate dai medici come forma di cura¹⁵; né mi sembra necessario postulare che l'invenzione consistesse nell'introduzione di bagni a vapore appositamente riscaldati¹⁶. Queste ipotesi, sviluppate anche con elementi fantasiosi e che non trovano alcun riscontro nelle fonti, trascurano la circostanza essenziale che le ville costruite da Orata si trovavano a Baia, località termale in cui non solo la temperatura era particolarmente mite, ma anche le acque termali calde permettevano un'attività che durava quasi tutto l'anno¹⁷ ed ancor oggi negli alberghi della zona è possibile fare il bagno nelle piscine all'aperto in pieno inverno¹⁸.

Una testimonianza fondamentale quanto trascurata in proposito è offerta, a mio avviso, da Cassio Dione, nell'ambito del racconto della costruzione del porto militare che univa il lago Lucrino all'Averno ad opera di Agrippa nel 37 a.C., all'epoca della guerra contro Sesto Pompeo¹⁹. Lo storico ricorda che a Baia l'acqua termale si raccoglieva in bacini e gli abitanti la portavano con apposite tubazioni nelle stanze dei piani superiori, dove se ne servivano per le cure e per i bagni termali, poiché si riteneva che più essa si allontanava dal suolo, più si asciugava e diveniva salutare; pertanto, si faceva ricorso ad apparecchiature assai costose per poter utilizzare l'acqua per gli usi della vita di tutti i giorni e per le cure termali²⁰. Alla luce anche di questa testimonianza, non vedo dunque perché Orata avrebbe dovuto far ricorso a complesse e costose attrezzature per riscaldare artificialmente l'acqua proprio in una località come Baia, dove per tutto l'anno era disponibile acqua naturalmente calda, per di più termale e quindi assai più gradevole e salutare, che,

and Equites VI. Caius Sergius Orata and the Invention of the Hypocaust, ORom 20 (1996), p. 177-182; G.G. FAGAN, *Sergius Orata: Inventor of the Hypocaust?*, *Phoenix* 50 (1996), p. 56-66.

¹⁴ Cfr. ad es. F. KRETSCHMER, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des antiken Bades und das Bad auf dem Magdalensberg*, Düsseldorf 1961; I. NIELSEN, *Thermae* (n. 14), I, p. 20-22 con bibliografia.

¹⁵ Cfr. Plin., *Nat. Hist.* VI 8.16, con riferimento alla loro introduzione a Roma ad opera di Asclepiade di Bitinia, il più famoso medico della prima metà del I secolo a.C.

¹⁶ Così ad es. A. AMBROGI, *Labra di età romana in marmi bianchi e colorati*, Roma 2005, p. 42 n. 158.

¹⁷ Cfr. Hor., *Epist.* I 15.2-10; Martial., *Epigr.* IV 57; Sen., *Epist.* 55.7. Claudio emanò proprio a Baia l'editto *De civitate Araunorum*, il 15 marzo del 46 d.C. (P.F. GIRARD – F. SENN, *Les lois des Romains*, Camerino 1977⁷, p. 425-427).

¹⁸ Autopsia e felice esperienza personale: Ischia, febbraio 2001, con cielo coperto e temperatura esterna poco meno che invernale.

¹⁹ In proposito cfr. soprattutto J.-M. RODDAZ, *Marcus Agrippa*, Rome 1984, p. 95 ss.

²⁰ Dio Cass. XLVIII 51.1-2.

insieme alla temperatura mite, permetteva anche di risparmiare inutili e costose coperture delle piscine.

Il più importante risultato dell'attività di Orata, riconosciutogli da numerose fonti, fu comunque quello d'aver iniziato e promosso l'allevamento ittico in vasche nella zona di Baia. Plinio il Vecchio e Macrobio, in particolare, attestano che Orata fu il primo a creare vivai di ostriche in quella località, ricavandone lauti guadagni; egli fu anche il primo ad affermare il primato culinario delle ostriche del Lucrino²¹, circostanza che attesta le sue capacità non solo imprenditoriali, ma anche promozionali. Già Varrone, del resto, attesta che il *cognomen* di Orata derivava dagli allevamenti del pesce omonimo che egli aveva installati in vasche riempite d'acqua marina²²; il suo ruolo d'inventore in questo campo ed il suo grandissimo successo sono confermati da Cicerone²³, da Columella e da Macrobio²⁴ ed è noto che le ostriche del Lucrino divennero ben presto proverbiali per la loro qualità, restando sino alla fine dell'epoca antica una delle maggiori attrazioni della zona di Baia²⁵ e caratterizzandone fortemente anche l'aspetto, come attestano le raffigurazioni di *ostriaria* lungo la costa di Baia su flaconi di vetro conservati²⁶.

D'altra parte, se il notevole sviluppo dell'afflusso di pubblico nella zona del Lucrino in quasi tutto l'anno garantiva un mercato notevole per la produzione di ostriche degli allevamenti di Orata, mi sembra da respingere l'affermazione secondo cui il prodotto sarebbe stato destinato solo ed esclusivamente ad una clientela locale, per la difficoltà di trasportarlo altrove²⁷. Quest'ipotesi in effetti, non solo fa torto alla tenacia dei molluschi e all'inventiva dei Romani quando si trattava di far soldi, ma anche è confutata dall'evidenza delle fonti. Ancora Plinio, infatti, attesta che la fama del Lucrino era tale che, in seguito, le ostriche trasportate da Brindisi

²¹ Plin., *Nat. Hist.* IX 79.168: *Is primum optimum saporem ostreis Lucrinis adiudicavit...* Cfr. Macrobi., *Sat.* III 15.2-3: *... Sergius Orata, qui primus balneas pensiles habuit, primis ostrearia in Baiano locavit, primis optimum saporem ostreis Lucrinis adiudicavit.*

²² Varro, *Rust.* III 3.10.

²³ Cfr. *supra*, n. 12.

²⁴ Colum. VIII 16; Macrobi., *Sat.* III 15.3.

²⁵ Strabo V 4.6; Hor., *Epod.* II 49; *Sat.* II 4.32; Petron. 119.34-35; Sen., *Epist.* 78.23; Iuven., *Sat.* 4.141, 11.49; Martial., *Epigr.* III 60.3; VI 11.5; XII 48.4; XIII 82; XIII 90; Auson., *Epist.* 7.1; 7.30; cfr. ad es. J. ANDRÉ, *L'alimentation et la cuisine à Rome*, Paris 1961, p. 108.

²⁶ Cfr. A. MAIURI, *La specola misenate*, RAAN, N.S. 24-25 (1949-1950), p. 271ss.; C. PICARD, *Pouzzoles et le paysage portuaire*, *Latomus* 18 (1959), p. 34-37 e figg. 9-10.

²⁷ Cfr. T. FRANK, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, I, Baltimore 1933, p. 290; J.H. D'ARMS, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 34.

a Roma venivano nutrite durante una sosta del viaggio in quel lago, in modo da mantenersi fresche e da mischiare i sapori delle due località²⁸; da parte sua, Ateneo attesta che un certo Apicio riuscì a far pervenire ostriche fresche nell'interno dell'Asia all'imperatore Traiano, durante la guerra contro i Parti²⁹. Le capacità tecniche, dunque, non mancavano, ed è evidente che il trasporto da Baia a Roma doveva comportare minime difficoltà, data anche la possibilità di un tragitto via mare, fino ad Ostia e poi lungo il Tevere, che era la rotta più agevole ed economicamente conveniente³⁰ per raggiungere un mercato che offriva le più ampie possibilità di guadagno.

La più dettagliata testimonianza sull'attività di Orata è comunque quella offerta da Valerio Massimo, che converrà analizzare attentamente, anche per correggere errori e fraintendimenti a cui ha dato origine. Valerio Massimo, dopo aver accennato, come si è visto, alle piscine pensili inventate da Orata, afferma che quest'ultimo, per non sottoporre la sua golosità al capriccio del mare, escogitò la creazione di specchi d'acqua privati, bloccando le onde in modo da creare stagni in ciascuno dei quali allevava specie diverse, in modo che il maltempo non togliesse alla sua mensa l'abbondanza e la varietà delle portate. Egli afferma poi:

Aedificiis etiam spatiosis et excelsis deserta ad id tempus ora Lucrini lacus pressit (sc. Orata), quo recentiore usu conchyliorum frueretur: ubi dum se publicae aquae cupidius immergit, cum Considio publicano iudicium nactus est.

L. Crasso, che sosteneva la causa contro di lui, affermò allora che Considio sbagliava se pensava che Orata, allontanato dal lago, sarebbe rimasto privo di ostriche, perché, se non avesse potuto prenderle da lì, le avrebbe trovate sui tetti³¹. La battuta di Crasso è confermata da un frammento di Cicerone³² (*sollertiaque ea posset vel in tegulis proseminare ostreas*), dove mi sembra da notare l'uso del verbo *proseminare*, che è indicativo di un riferimento ad allevamenti.

²⁸ Plin., *Nat. hist.* III 1.61; IX 79. 169.

²⁹ Athen. 1.7d.

³⁰ Circa la netta preferenza per la rotta marittima che dalla Campania portava ad Ostia e quindi, spesso dopo un trasbordo su imbarcazioni più piccole, al porto fluviale di Roma, cfr. ad es. L. CASSON, *Harbour and River Boats of Ancient Rome*, JRS 55 (1965), p. 32; J.H. D'ARMS, *Puteoli in the Second Century of the Roman Empire. A Social and Economic Study*, JRS 64 (1964), p. 104ss. (= Id., *op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 284ss.).

³¹ Val. Max. IX 1.1.

³² Cic., *Hortens.* fr. 69 Grilli (= Non., p. 319, 7-8 Lindsay).

Occorre a questo punto eliminare preliminarmente un fraintendimento che come spesso succede, per il fatto stesso di comparire in un'opera di larga diffusione, ha avuto generale accoglienza: la conclusione che il processo ricordato da Valerio Massimo sia da identificare con quello, che abbiamo visto all'inizio, attestato da Cicerone³³. Quest'ipotesi è del tutto da respingere: non solo, infatti, diversi sono il nome dell'antagonista di Orata, il ruolo di quest'ultimo (querelante nel primo caso, querelato nel secondo) e di Crasso (in un caso accusatore, nell'altro difensore di Orata), ma diverso è pure l'oggetto del processo, in Cicerone una casa (*aedis*) sottoposta ad un vincolo, nell'altra vicenda, invece, *aedificia*, con ogni evidenza costruiti per l'allevamento e che si addentravano nelle acque demaniali, in maniera colpevole a giudizio del querelante.

D'altra parte il passo di Valerio Massimo, nonostante il suo intento moralistico, evidente già dalla rubrica alla quale dà inizio³⁴, contiene anche alcuni elementi tecnici che, a mio avviso, forniscono indicazioni preziose sull'orientamento dell'attività imprenditoriale di Orata e sulle reali novità che egli introdusse nell'allevamento ittico. Valerio Massimo, in effetti, distingue nettamente due tipi di allevamento esercitati da Orata. Il primo di essi riguardava branchi di pesci allevati distintamente, in base alle specie, in stagni artificiali, creati con blocchi che impedivano i danni provocati delle ondate in caso di maltempo. La rilevanza di questa soluzione mi sembra evidente, se si considera che, secondo Servio, ancora al tempo di Cesare i pubblicani che avevano l'appalto degli impianti ittici nel Lucrino e nell'Averno, che versavano forti imposte e venivano danneggiati dalle ondate che si riversavano nei laghi in caso di maltempo, rivolsero una petizione al senato; Cesare intervenne con lavori che restrinsero l'accesso delle onde, in modo che i pesci continuassero ad entrare, ma il mare non facesse danni³⁵. Il ricorso da parte di Orata a quelli che Valerio Massimo definisce *peculiararia maria* e l'accento alle diverse varietà di pesci così allevati separatamente conferma poi che doveva trattarsi di specie del tipo delle orate, che richiedevano specchi di mare abbastanza ampi; non è affatto detto, poi, che questi stagni artificiali fossero ubicati nel Lucrino, ed anzi la testimonianza di Servio sulla situazione posteriore lascerebbe intendere il contrario.

³³ F. MÜNZER, *art. cit.* (n. 1), col. 1713-1714; cfr. ad es. J.H. D'ARMS, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 35.

³⁴ *De luxuria et libidine*.

³⁵ Serv. *ad Georg.* 2.161.

Il secondo tipo di allevamenti riguardava invece *conchyliia*, termine che indica in generale i molluschi ed anche, più specificamente, le ostriche³⁶, come del resto chiarisce la battuta finale di Crasso; esso si svolgeva in *aedificia... spatiosa et excelsa*³⁷, evidentemente inadatti ad allevare il pesce, che aveva bisogno di acque relativamente libere per nuotare, ma perfetti per le ostriche, che richiedevano invece spazi ben più ristretti ed acqua non soggetta a movimenti. Questi edifici sorgevano sulle spiagge del Lucrino, addentrandosi anche nelle acque del lago, circostanza a cui possiamo ben credere, se teniamo presenti le lamentele sulla costruzione di ville che occupavano la spiaggia, impedivano l'accesso al mare e si prolungavano nel mare per mezzo di opere artificiali in Sallustio, Orazio, Virgilio e Seneca³⁸ e la conferma offerta dalle pitture del tempo³⁹.

Circa il metodo usato deve poi far riflettere, a mio avviso, il particolare dell'altezza degli edifici costruiti da Orata a tale scopo. E' evidente, infatti, che l'altezza non era affatto un requisito utile per gli allevamenti a palizzate infitte nel mare, definiti *ostraria* nelle raffigurazioni della costa di Baia su flaconi di vetro⁴⁰ ed attestati ancora nel IV secolo d.C.⁴¹.. Piuttosto, se si considerano da un lato le particolarità del luogo e l'accenno a edifici elevati in Valerio Massimo, dall'altro il legame fra l'introduzione dell'allevamento delle ostriche e l'invenzione delle piscine sospese anche in altre fonti⁴², mi sembra logico concludere che proprio in questo consistesse la particolarità dell'azione di Orata. Infatti, egli poteva servirsi degli edifici elevati sul mare per costruirvi grandi piscine sopraelevate, in cui allevare le ostriche, sfruttando l'acqua del Lucrino. Questa soluzione offriva diversi vantaggi: innanzi tutto, si poteva sfruttare al meglio l'acqua del Lucrino che, com'è attestato in particolare

³⁶ Cfr. ad es. Petron., *Sat.* 119.35; SPELTHAHN, *TLL* IV (1906), s.v. *conchylium*, col. 30.

³⁷ L'interpretazione secondo cui si sarebbe trattato di una villa residenziale, la prima costruita nella zona (J. BELOCH, *Campania. Storia e topografia della Napoli antica e dei suoi dintorni*, trad. it., Napoli 1989, p. 201; cfr. anche J.H. D'ARMS, *op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 35) è da respingere; è invece chiaro che questi *aedificia* avevano una funzione prettamente produttiva.

³⁸ Sall., *Cat.* 13.1, 20.11; Verg., *Aen.* IX 710-714; Hor., *Carm.* II 18.17-22; III 1.33-37, 24.3-4; Sen., *Epist.* 89.21.

³⁹ Si vedano in particolare le raffigurazioni di ville marittime nelle pitture di Stabia in J.H. D'ARMS, *op. cit.* (n. 1), fig. 13-15b.

⁴⁰ Cfr. *supra*, nota 29.

⁴¹ Auson., *Epist.* 7.30.

⁴² Cfr. *supra*, note 12 e 24.

dall'uso successivo di immergervi le ostriche di passaggio da Brindisi, conferiva al prodotto un sapore particolare, con ogni evidenza in virtù delle sue caratteristiche termali. La stessa temperatura naturale di quest'acqua contribuiva al successo dell'operazione, poiché i Romani ben sapevano che l'acqua moderatamente calda contribuiva a migliorare i prodotti ittici⁴³. In secondo luogo, era così possibile sfruttare in maniera più intensiva il limitato spazio della costa, tanto più ristretto e prezioso, in quanto lo sfruttamento del Lucrino era allora soggetto a forti limitazioni. Il lago costituiva infatti una risorsa importante per lo Stato romano, tanto che la zona fu incamerata nell'erario e fornì un introito assai rilevante⁴⁴; gli allevamenti ittici furono i primi ad essere concessi in appalto⁴⁵, forse già agli inizi del II secolo a.C.⁴⁶. L'iniziativa di Orata poteva dunque consentirgli di moltiplicare l'estensione e quindi gli utili dei suoi allevamenti di ostriche ben al di là dei ristretti limiti della concessione di cui disponeva, sfruttando al meglio il semplice accesso all'acqua del Lucrino, che non poteva essergli impedito. Ben si comprende, a questo punto, la reazione del pubblicano Considio, che si vedeva minacciato da quella che doveva considerare un'illecita concorrenza e quindi cercava di difendersi sul piano legale.

Quest'interpretazione mi sembra poi confermata soprattutto dall'ironica battuta di Cassio, che fece presente al suo assistito come, anche allontanando Orata dal lago, non si sarebbe impedita la sua attività, poiché egli avrebbe trovato le ostriche anche sulle tegole. La battuta mi sembra riferirsi chiaramente ad allevamenti in posti sopraelevati, ma conferma pure che l'iniziativa attuata da Orata lo metteva al riparo anche in caso di esclusione dalla spiaggia, poiché egli non aveva più bisogno di allevare le sue ostriche nel lago, avendo trovato il modo di coltivarle, con le stesse caratteristiche e lo stesso sapore, nelle sue piscine. Il ruolo d'inventore di Orata risulta a questo punto chiarito nel suo aspetto duplice e collegato: mediante l'adozione delle piscine sospese, alimentate dall'acqua calda abbondante

⁴³ In effetti, anche la peschiera della villa di Orazio presso Licenza era alimentata dall'acqua tiepida delle terme: cfr. G. LUGLI, *MonAL* 31 (1926), p. 457ss.; H. MIELSCH, *La villa romana*, trad. it., Firenze 1990, p. 21.

⁴⁴ Cic., *de lege agr.* II 14.36.

⁴⁵ Fest., p. 108, 24-26 Lindsay: *lacus Lucrinus in vectigalibus publicis primis locatur eruendus ominis boni gratia, ut in dilectu censurae primi nominantur Valerius, Salvius, Statorius*.

⁴⁶ Cfr. M. FREDERIKSEN, *Campania*, ed. by N. Purcell, Rome 1984, p. 279 n. 74, p. 344 n. 121.

nella zona, egli poteva fornire ai suoi clienti ville attrezzate con piscine per la *natatio* e per le cure termali ed incrementare l'allevamento delle ostriche, raggiungendo un livello che potrebbe, con termine moderno, essere definito quasi industriale e accontentando le esigenze di una clientela sempre più vasta, ma mantenendo il gusto e la qualità che solo le acque del Lucrino e dell'Averno potevano garantire.

E' infine da chiarire che l'affermazione, generalmente ripetuta, secondo cui Orata sarebbe stato il primo ad introdurre l'allevamento delle ostriche, non è affatto supportata dalle fonti, che lo considerano invece solo l'inventore dei vivai, sia di ostriche che di altri pesci⁴⁷; in realtà, l'allevamento anche delle ostriche doveva essere preesistente nella Campania, ma condotto con metodi più primitivi. Le novità introdotte da Orata, sia in questo campo che in quello immobiliare, furono piuttosto legate ad un sapiente uso delle risorse e delle possibilità che le acque termali di Baia offrivano, oltre che ad una notevole capacità promozionale nell'affermare la preminenza dei suoi prodotti, in particolare delle ostriche. Le fonti antiche, come si è visto condannano aspramente la condotta di Orata, come frutto di *luxuria* e di *avarizia* e Cicerone, più in generale, lo considera personaggio noto per il suo amore del lusso e dei piaceri⁴⁸; ma le stesse fonti ne ammettono pure le innegabili doti di uomo d'affari ed il grande successo economico, che andò al di là della sua stessa persona, contribuendo notevolmente all'eccezionale sviluppo di Baia. Orata dunque, con le sue capacità imprenditoriali e promozionali, ben figura come uno dei prototipi di quella categoria di uomini d'affari che contribuirono, forse non meno dei militari, all'affermazione e allo stabilizzarsi del dominio di Roma.

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⁴⁷ Cfr. Cic., *Hortens.* fr. 68 Grilli; Plin., *Nat. Hist.* IX 79.168; Val. Max. IX 1.1; Macrob., *Sat.* III 15.2-3.

⁴⁸ Cic., *de fin.* II 22.70. Sulla polemica contro il lusso di Orata nel perduto *Hortensius* di Cicerone e sulla sua eco nel *De beata vita* di Agostino cfr. A. GRILLI, *M. Tulli Cicero-nis Hortensius*, Milano 1962, p. 142ss.

THE SECRET HISTORY:
THE OFFICIAL POSITION OF IMPERATOR CAESAR DIVI
FILIUS FROM 31 TO 27 BCE*

Abstract: In *Res Gestae* 7.1, Augustus claims to have been Triumvir for Constituting the Republic for ten consecutive years (43-33 BCE), whereas the foundations of the so-called Principate were not established before 13 and 16 January 27. Since a magnificent *aureus* from 28 BCE corroborates Augustus' boastful statement (*Res Gestae* 34.1) that he returned the *Res Publica* to the Senate and the People in his sixth and seventh consulships (28 & 27 BCE), the question of his official position from 32 to 27 has become more pertinent than ever. The main aim of this inquiry is to demonstrate that Octavianus/Augustus, who at this stage was formally called Imperator Caesar Divi filius, continued to govern the Republic as triumvir *r.p.c.* well after 31 December 32, the historical end date of the second triumviral *quinquennium*. There is every indication that he only abdicated this plenipotentiary magistracy on 13 January 27, the very day he declared to have completed his triumviral assignment.

1. A SIMPLE QUESTION

In what official capacity did Caesar's adopted son and self-proclaimed political heir stage the momentous transition from the age of civil war to his august New Order? This question has been catapulted to the forefront again ever since J. Rich and J. Williams published a magnificent

* The genesis of this paper can be traced back to peripheral inquiries made at the time of my doctoral research on the so-called *potestates extraordinariae* of the Roman Republic (submitted at Ghent University, 2002) and my study on *The Lex Valeria and Sulla's Empowerment as Dictator (82-79 BCE)*, *CCG* 15 (2004) – see, esp., p. 58-68 (and n. 111 of p. 65). The main findings of this inquiry were first presented at a conference on the subject of *Res publica restituta: Le pouvoir et ses représentations à Rome durant le principat d'Auguste*, held at the University of Nantes, 1-2 June 2007. I am especially obliged to Emeritus Professor John Rich of the University of Nottingham whose written thoughts on earlier versions have been most useful in terms of further sharpening and refining its argument. Responsibility for all views expressed in this study and any remaining flaws and errors is mine alone. All dates are BCE, unless otherwise stated. Precisely because of the artful way in which Caesar's adopted son used his name of Imperator Caesar Divi filius in the decade or so before the settlement of 27, I have taken the conscious decision to refer to him chiefly as Caesar Octavianus. Since Dio Cassius does so, too, on several occasions in his books on the triumviral era, admittedly in passages where he was possibly drawing on hostile sources (viz. XLVI 47.5, XLVII 20.3, XLVIII 14.4-5 & XLIX 41.2), this choice is not without justification.

aureus from 28 BCE in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, volume 159 (1999)¹. This excellent study has conclusively demonstrated that Augustus' statement in *Res Gestae* 34.1, that his devolution of the *Res Publica* to the Senate and the People took place in his sixth and seventh consulship, should be taken at face value². As Rich and Williams point out, this *aureus* corroborates Tacitus' statement in *Ann.* III 28.1-2 that, *sexto demum consulatu Caesar Augustus, potentiae securus, quae triumviratu iusserat aboleuit deditque iura quis pace et principe uteremur*, whereas Dio Cassius (LIII 3-10) apparently misrepresents as a single act what was in fact a staged process extending over 28 and part of 27³.

It was especially from his triumphant return from Egypt in 29 up to the momentous settlements of January 27 that Emperor Caesar Divi f. laid the foundations of a political system that would last for approximately three centuries. Therefore, the question in what official capacity he did so is of tremendous importance⁴. Before, however, tackling this key issue two preliminary questions require brief discussion, viz. the official terminal date of the second triumviral *quinquennium* and, next, the characteristics and *termini* of the so-called extraordinary magistracies of the Roman Republic.

2. THE TERMINAL DATE OF THE SECOND TRIUMVIRAL *QUINQUENNium*: AN INEXTRICABLE KNOT?

Depending on different valuations of the extant evidence from the sources most scholars argue for 31 December 33, whereas a minority opt for 31 December 32 as the official end date of the so-called 'second' triumvirate⁵. Two powerful factors have caused this discussion to turn

¹ Rich & Williams (1999) 169-213.

² *In consulatu sexto et septimo, postqua[m] b[er]el[la] ciuil[is] extinxeram, per consensum uniuersorum [po]tens re[ru]m om[n]ium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in senat[us] populi[que] R[om]ani [a]rbitrium transtuli.* For the *Res Gestae Diui Augusti*, I have consistently used the excellent new edition by SCHEID (2007).

³ RICH & WILLIAMS (1999) 194-199 & 212-213.

⁴ Comp. also the observation in *Dion Cassius* (1991), p. XL, that «la question n'est pas tant de savoir à quelle date, précisément, le triumvirat a expiré — car dans cette affaire, la légalité est, après tout, formelle — que de connaître le fondement des prérogatives d'Octavien au delà de cette limite.»

⁵ For excellent summaries of the interminable debate on the *termini* of the second triumviral *quinquennium*, see REINHOLD (1988) 224-225, and, esp., GIRARDET (1990a) 324-325 (with n. 2, 4, 6 & 7) and (1995) 149 n. 13. To name just a few scholars who

into a seemingly endless debate, if not a complete stalemate. First, there is the disparate nature (and often poor quality) of the extant source material⁶. Next, none other than Caesar Augustus himself famously claimed in his *Res Gestae* (7.1) that he «was Triumvir for Constituting the Republic for ten consecutive years»: [Tri]umu[i]rum rei pu[blicae c]on[s]ti[tuendae fui per continuos an]nos [decem]⁷. Even though it will be argued in the next chapter of this inquiry that, ultimately, this matter is largely irrelevant to the question of Octavianus' official position from the expiry of his second statutory term as triumvir *r.p.c.* to 13 January 27, there is a strong indication that the second triumviral *quinquennium* indeed ended on 31 December 32, and not precisely one year earlier.

In November of the fateful year 43, M. Aemilius Lepidus (*cos.* 46), M. Antonius (*cos.* 44) and C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus (*cos. suff.* 43) had the tribune P. Titius propose and carry a law that invested them with the unprecedented magistracy of *triumvir rei publicae constituendae*. In order to execute their enormous commission, namely to end the civil

argue in favour of 31/12/33: MOMMSEN (1887) II, 718-719; SYME (1939) 277 n. 6; *MRR* 2, 417; SYME (1958) 184 («to the last day of December, 33 B.C., the official competence of Octavianus reposed on the title 'III vir r.p.c.' Throughout the year 32 B.C. he holds no office»); FADINGER (1969) 103; JONES (1970) 37; MILLAR (1973) 58 (cautiously: «when [i.e., 32 BCE] (perhaps) his only official position was that of *consul designatus* for the third time»); GRAY (1975) 301-305 & 309; HOYOS (1983) 7; LEWIS (1991) 58 & 61; BLEICKEN (1990) 14 & n. 28; RICH (1992) 114; GIRARDET (1990a) 325 (comp. 330 & 338), and, esp., (1995) 147-161; WARDLE (1995) 496; PELLING (1996) 67-68; RICH & WILLIAMS (1999) 188; and MANTOVANI (2008) 10 & n. 21 (Mantovani accepts Girardet's argument in [1995] as convincing). Since Pelling's short treatment of the problem is a classic example of how Augustus' tremendously successful representation of the facts is adopted without question in modern scholarship, it is well worth quoting some of his argument: «At *RG* 7.1 Augustus claims to have held the *triumvir* (sic) *per continuos annos decem*/συνεχέσιν ἔτεσιν δέκα (cf. Suet., *Aug.* 27.1): i.e. clearly, from 27 November 43 to 31 December 33: cf. Brunt – Moore *ad loc.* I agree with those who regard this as decisive. Thus the *Fasti Capitolini*, inscribed under Augustus, include the triumvirs before the consuls in their entry for 1 January 37 (rather than 36): the second five-year term had retrospectively been fixed as beginning then.» Amongst the far lesser number of historians arguing in favour of 31/12/32 are COLI (1953) 415; GABBA (1970) 5-16 (esp. 11-15); ANELLO (1980) 111-114; BADIAN (1991) 8 n. 8; ERMATINGER (1993) 109; and RIDLEY (2003) 173. As RIDLEY, *loc. cit.*, points out, the first attempt to prove this case was by Ettore CICOTTI, *La fine del secondo triumvirato*, *RF* 2 (1895) 80-93 (*non vidi*).

⁶ Hence the rather pessimistic appraisal of this debate in *Dion Cassius* (1991), p. XL: «Les arguments échangés de part et d'autre paraissent avoir autant de poids, et l'imprécision des sources sur cette question ne permet pas de trancher définitivement en faveur de l'une ou de l'autre option.»

⁷ Augustus' version of the facts is reproduced by Suetonius in *Aug.* 27.1: *triumvira-tum rei p. constituendae per decem annos administrauit*. BLEICKEN (1990) 15 n. 29 rightly deduces that Suetonius must have used either the *Res Gestae* or Augustus' memoirs.

wars and restore the Republic, the law provided for a time span of five consecutive years and invested them with greatly enhanced consular *imperium*⁸. Since the *Fasti Colotiani* record Lepidus, Antonius and Imp. Caesar as *Illuir(i) r(ei) p(ublicae) c(onstituendae) ex a(nte) d(iem) V k. Dec. ad pr(idie) k. Ian. sext(as)*, i.e. from 27 November 43 up to and including 31 December 38⁹, it is clear that the three ringleaders of the Caesarian faction assumed their new and virtually omnipotent office on the spot¹⁰, a first telling example of the contempt for statutory and customary procedures and propriety that especially characterized the triumvirs' first quinquennial tenure and made it notorious. Nonetheless, it is quite likely that the first triumviral *quinquennium* officially started only from 1 January 42, regardless of the fact that the three lost no time in exercising their vast new powers right after the passage of the *lex Titia*. Making its term neatly correspond with the regular magisterial calendar year was just one means to lend this otherwise extraordinary office a faint appearance of normality. Although their first *quinquennium* thus lapsed on 1 January 37, circumstances caused the triumvirs to regularize their position only at some point towards the end of that year. In XLVIII 54.6, at the very end of his summary of the year 37, Dio indeed records that, among other arrangements, Caesar Octavianus and Marcus Antonius «granted themselves the leadership for another five years, since the first period had elapsed»: εαυτοῖς δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐς ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πρότερα ἐξεληλύθει, ἐπέτρεψαν¹¹. In *B.C.* V 95, Appian,

⁸ App., *B.C.* IV 2 (καινὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἐς διόρθωσιν τῶν ἐμφυλίων νομοθετηθῆναι Λεπίδῳ τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι, ἦν ἐπὶ πενταετὲς αὐτοὺς ἄρχειν, ἴσον ἰσχύουσαν ὑπάτοις) & IV 7 (ἐνομοθέτει καινὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ καταστάσει τῶν παρόντων ἐς πενταετὲς εἶναι τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, Λεπίδου τε καὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος, ἴσον ἰσχύουσαν ὑπάτοις). For the quinquennial *tempus*, see also App., *B.C.* V 13, 15 & 43; Dio XLVI 55.3 & Livy, *Per.* 120. In *Aug.* 26.1, Suetonius, too, hints at the unprecedented nature of this magistracy: *Magistratus atque honores et ante tempus et quosdam noui generis perpetuosque cepit*.

⁹ On the basis of the *Fasti Colotiani*, MOMMSEN (1887) II, 718 n. 1; MILLAR (1973) 51; BRINGMANN (1988) 38; BLEICKEN (1990) 14 & GIRARDET (1990a) 329, rightly concluded that 31 December 38 was the final day of the first triumviral *quinquennium*. In n. 27 of *loc. cit.*, Bleicken points out that the erasure of Antonius' name in these *Fasti* shows that the inscription was set up «vor der *damnatio memoriae* des Antonius im September 30».

¹⁰ DEGRASSI, *Inscr. It.* XIII 1, 273-274 (= *CIL* I² p. 64).

¹¹ Although the use of the *plusquamperfectum* speaks for itself, Dio's subsequent clarification (in XLIX 1.1) that «all this happened in the winter in which Lucius Gellius and Cocceius Nerva became consuls» strongly suggests that the summit between Octavianus and Antonius took place during the second half of 37. In XLIX 23.1-2, Dio explicitly

too, relates that both dynasts granted themselves another five years, without having recourse to the People, although he somewhat inaccurately suggests that their first term «was about expiring» at this time: ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ χρόνος αὐτοῖς ἔληγε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἢ τοῖς τρισὶν ἐψησιστο ἀνδράσιν, ἑτέραν ἑαυτοῖς ὄριζον πενταετίαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῦ δήμου δεηθέντες¹².

There are, however, strong indications that well before the expiry of their first statutory *quinquennium*, Caesar Octavianus and Marcus Antonius had already decided to stay in office beyond December 38. Dio's observation in XLVI 55.3 that the grant of a quinquennial *tempus* for the triumvirate in 43 was merely pretence and that the triumvirs really intended to stay in power permanently can probably be explained as retrospective insight¹³. In XLVIII 36.4-5, however, Dio records that at the pact of Puteoli in 39, Caesar Octavianus and Marcus Antonius conceded that, among other things, Sextus Pompeius «should be chosen consul and appointed augur ... and should govern Sicily, Sardinia and Achaea for five years»¹⁴. This arrangement virtually proves that already at that

indicates that Antonius spent the entire year 37 in reaching Italy and returning again to Syria. Therefore, BROUGHTON in *MRR* 2, p. 396 wrongly claims that the meeting at Tarentum took place in the spring of 37, obviously on the basis of Appian, *B.C.* V 93. Although Appian indeed writes that Antonius set sail for Italy at the beginning of the spring of 37, the rest of his account clearly shows Octavianus deliberately caused a protracted delay, amongst other reasons because his own warships had to be finished first. Since both Dio (XLVIII 54.7) and Appian (*B.C.* V 95) tell us that Antonius hastened back to Syria after the meeting, and Dio (XLIX 23) explains that his return to Italy cost him the opportunity offered by a year of dynastic struggles in Parthia, Antonius cannot have been back before late in 37, which further suggests a meeting in the late summer or even autumn of that year. Comp. also BADIAN (1991) 8 n. 8: «It seems certain that the actual meeting cannot have been much before midsummer and may have been in early autumn.»

¹² GABBA (1970) 10, brands Appian's use of the aorist here as «una gravissima inesattezza», since the first term had come to an end on 31 December 38. In my opinion, Appian is simply being a bit confused as regards the precise chronology of the final stage of the first triumviral *quinquennium*: cf. *infra* n. 27.

¹³ Compare Dio's similar comment (in XLVIII 36.6) on the fact that Octavianus and M. Antonius granted Sextus Pompeius a quinquennial command in 39: «They limited him to this period of time because they wished it to appear that they also were holding a temporary and not a permanent authority.»

¹⁴ As the next clause stipulated that in this capacity, Sextus Pompeius «should not receive deserters or acquire more ships or keep any garrisons in Italy, but should devote his efforts to securing peace for the peninsula from the side of the sea», he was probably officially reinstated as *praefectus classis et orae maritimae* with consular *imperium*, an office he had first received from the Senate in 43 (*MRR* 2, p. 348); *contra* *MRR* 2, p. 388: «Probably Proconsul of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica». For a more concise summary of the treaty of Puteoli, see also Plut., *Ant.* 32.2.

time, Caesar's chief political heirs had decided to cling to the triumvirate after 38¹⁵. It is simply inconceivable that they should have abandoned their office at the end of 38 whilst leaving their arch-rival in command of a formidable, long-term province, especially since Dio makes it perfectly clear that the whole agreement was in fact nothing but an armed peace¹⁶.

The two leading triumvirs' decision to appoint the consuls-designate for several years past 38 is equally revealing of their intent to retain their plenipotentiary magistracies after the first *quinquennium*. In XLVIII 35.1, Dio claims that shortly before the compact of Puteoli the triumvirs appointed the consuls-designate for no less than eight consecutive years, viz. from 38 up to and including 31. The treaty of Puteoli, a little east of Cape Misenum, must have involved a substantial adjustment of this settlement, since Dio subsequently indicates in XLVIII 36.4-5 that Sextus Pompeius secured a number of magistracies and priesthoods for his associates and himself. Finally, in L 10.1, at the very outset of his account of the momentous year 31, Dio calls to mind that, before Marcus Antonius had been removed from all his (future) offices in January 32 (*infra*), it had been the original plan for him and Octavianus to jointly hold this year's consulship, and explains that this arrangement had been made «at the time when they settled the offices for eight years at once, and this was the last year of the period»¹⁷. In *B.C.* V 73, however, Appian records that on the second day of the Puteoli summit,

ἀπέφηναν δὲ τῆς ἐπιούσης ὑπάτους ἐς τετραετὲς Ἀντώνιον μὲν καὶ Λίβωνα πρῶτος, ἀντικαθιστάντος ὁμῶς Ἀντωνίου, ὃν ἂν βούλοιτο, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις Καίσαρά τε καὶ Πομπήιον, εἴτα Ἀηνόβαρβον καὶ Σόσιον, εἴτ' αὖθις Ἀντωνιόν τε καὶ Καίσαρα, τρίτον δὴ τότε μέλλοντας ὑπατεύσειν καὶ ἐλπιχομένους τότε καὶ ἀποδώσειν τῷ δηχμῷ τὴν πολιτείαν.

they designated the consuls for the next four years, for the first year Antonius and Libo, Antonius being privileged to substitute whomever he liked in his own place; next Caesar and Pompeius; next Ahenobarbus and Sosius; and, finally, Antonius and Caesar again; and as they would then be consuls the third time it was expected that they would then restore the government to the People.

¹⁵ Appian suggests in *B.C.* V 13 & esp. 15 that the triumvirs were planning on a second *quinquennium* as early as 41, before the outbreak of the ghastly *bellum Perusinum*.

¹⁶ That this agreement really was no more than an armed truce dictated by necessity and mutual deterrence is clear from App., *B.C.* V 67-73 and Dio XLVIII 36.1-2 & 45.4.

¹⁷ τότε ὅτε ἐς τὰ ὀκτὼ ἔτη τὰ ἀρχὰς ἐσάπαξ προκατεστήσαντο, καὶ τό γε τελευταῖον ἐκεῖνο ἦν·

Apart from the apparent contradiction between both accounts, each version causes problems by itself. Even though it is obvious that in 39, the triumvirs were planning on a second *quinquennium* from January 37 to December 33, Dio's representation that they designated the consuls as far ahead as 31, two years past the expiry of their projected second term, strains belief¹⁸. The problem with Appian, then, is that according to his scheme the consuls-designate for the next four years were M. Antonius & L. Scribonius Libo (38), Octavianus & Sextus Pompeius Magnus Pius (37), Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus & C. Sosius (36) and M. Antonius & Caesar Octavianus (35), whereas in reality, the ordinary consulships of these years were held by Ap. Claudius Pulcher & C. Norbanus Flaccus (38), M. Vipsanius Agrippa & L. Caninius Gallus (37), L. Gellius Publicola & M. Cocceius Nerva (36) and Sex. Pompeius & L. Cornificius (35). At any rate, the fact that the consulships of 37 were held by none other than Agrippa and L. Caninius Gallus strongly suggests that the consulships of 38 and 37 had already been designated before the pact of Puteoli¹⁹. Since the first triumviral term would lapse on 31 December

¹⁸ The claim that the triumvirs in 39 allocated the consulships for the years up to and including 31 is accepted unquestioningly by, e.g., MILLAR (1973) 52; LEWIS (1991) 58; WARDLE (1995) 496 («It is probable that after their reconciliation at Brundisium in 40 B.C. Octavian and M. Antonius had arranged the consulships down to 31 B.C.») & GIRARDET (1995) 153 (Octavianus assumed the consulship of 31 «entsprechend der bereits im Jahre 39 v.Chr. auf der Konferenz von Misenum erfolgten Designation»). PELLING (1996) 20 claims that at Cape Misenum in 39, «Consulships were agreed for every year till 32: Libo was promised 34 and Sextus 33, just after the expiry of his *quinquennium*», whereas on p. 68, he asserts that «at Misenum, when they completed their consular lists for the following years, they had fixed on 31 rather than 32 as the date for their own consulship.»

¹⁹ See Dio XLVII 15.2-3 for the fact that shortly after the vote of the *lex Titia* (cf. Dio XLVII 2.1-2), at the very end of 43, the triumvirs proceeded to arbitrary appointments of suffect magistrates and provincial commanders. Appian, for his part, merely records in *B.C.* IV 2 that the *lex Titia* would empower the triumvirs to designate the annual magistracies ἐπὶ τὴν πενταετίαν, i.e., for the duration of their quinquennial tenure. GABBA (1970) 6-7 cogently argues that for 42, the triumvirs had respected Caesar the dictator's magisterial designations, except, of course, in the case of political enemies. As regards the date of the consular assignments for 38 and 37, there are two possibilities. In XLVII 19.4, Dio notes that shortly before Antonius and Octavianus set out for Greece, the triumvirs «assigned the magistracies in Rome for several years ahead, thus at the same time honouring their friends and strengthening their cause for a longer time by controlling the succession of the officials.» Plutarch, however, records in *Ant.* 30.4 that, as part of the treaty of Brundisium, Caesar Octavianus and M. Antonius «arranged that, when they did not wish for the office themselves, the friends of each should have the consulship by turns.» This suggests that perhaps as early as the summer of 42, or, alternatively, in the autumn of 40 at the latest, the triumvirs designated the consulships up to and including

38, Caesar Octavianus and M. Antonius had to make sure that the consuls of 37 would be loyal and trustworthy partisans, as an additional precautionary measure²⁰. Therefore, it is more likely that the short-lived agreement of Puteoli settled the magistracies for the years 36 up to and including 33 and that Appian produces the original list of consuls-designate for these years. This reconstruction perfectly accounts for Appian's valuable notes (*B.C.* V 72) that Pompeius was granted the privilege to hold his consulship *in absentia*, «through any friend he might choose», and that he «should govern Sardinia, Sicily, and Corsica, and any other islands in his possession, as long as Antonius and Caesar should hold sway over the other countries». If we accept that the three peacemakers of Puteoli partitioned consulships and provincial commands from 36 through 33, then everything makes perfect sense indeed. The triumvirs were to add another *quinquennium* to their tenure, beginning 1 January 37 and conveniently capped by the joint third consulship of M. Antonius and Caesar Octavianus in 33. If need be, M. Antonius, who had ambitious plans of his own in the East, could appoint a suffect consul at his own discretion in 36. Sextus Pompeius, finally, was to hold his powerful naval command from January 38 till December 34, with the right to hold the consulship of 35 *in absentia*. As Appian emphatically indicates that the triumvirs were expected to abdicate their office during the third consulship of Antonius and Octavianus (33), a solemn return to constitutional normality in, perhaps, January of that year would indeed imply that Pompeius had held his command as long as the triumvirs theirs²¹. History,

37, so covering their backs for the first year after the expiry of their (first) quinquennial term. Compare also *MRR* 2, p. 383 for Q. Salvidienus Rufus committing suicide in 40 as *consul designatus* for 39.

²⁰ See Val. Max. IV 2.6 for the fact that Caninius Gallus married C. Antonius' daughter after having earlier secured his conviction as prosecutor.

²¹ *Contra* GABBA (1970) 8-9, who believes that Dio's representation in XLVIII 35.1-3 «non è affatto imprecisa» and attempts to reconcile Dio with Appian, *B.C.* V 73 by suggesting that, as part of the agreement with Sextus Pompeius at Puteoli, the original designations for 34, 33, 32 and 31 were modified. BROUGHTON in *MRR* 2, p. 388, 392, 397, 402 & 408, too, systematically terms Sextus Pompeius «Cos. Desig. 33», indicating his belief that Pompeius at Puteoli gained the consulship of 33, i.e., the year after his five-year command, and echoing Gabba's assumption that Appian produces the names of the consuls of the last four years of the alleged eight-year arrangement of 39. For a similar view, see, e.g. GRENADE (1961) 21-22; ANELLO (1980) 114; HOYOS (1983) 6; SCHUMACHER (1985) 197-198; BLEICKEN (1990) 33 n. 87 & esp. 44 & 65 (where his observation that as consuls *III*, in 31, Antonius and Octavianus would reconstitute «dem Volk der Staat» is at odds with his belief (cf. *supra* n. 5) that the triumvirate lapsed on 31/12/33); and LAFFI (1993) 46 & 54-55. Compare also GRAY (1975) 22, who suggests that, at some point

however, decided otherwise, as the renewal of the mortal struggle between Caesar Octavianus and Sextus Pompeius from 38 and M. Antonius' cumbersome military campaigns and preparations in the East meant that the treaty of Puteoli and much of its planning were to remain dead letter²².

Although most scholars now believe that the grant of 37 retroactively renewed the triumvirate from 1 January of that year, which by definition implies that the second term was to lapse on 31 December 33²³, there is every indication that, historically, the second triumviral *quinquennium* only ran from 1 January 36. First, Appian produces some unequivocal evidence in *Illyr.* 28, where he records that,

Νουμηνία δ' ἔτους ἀρξάμενος ὑπατεύειν, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς ἡμέρας παραδοὺς Αὐτρωνίῳ Παίτῳ, εὐθὺς ἐξέθορεν αὐθις ἐπὶ τοὺς Δαλμάτας ἄρχων ἔτι τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀρχήν· δύο γὰρ ἔλειπεν ἔτη τῇ δευτέρᾳ πενταετία τῇσδε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκεκυρώκει.

Entering upon his [i.e., Caesar Octavianus'] new consulship on the Kalends of January [33 BCE], and delivering the government to Autronius Paetus the same day, he started back to Dalmatia at once, being still triumvir; for two years remained of the second five-year period which the triumvirs themselves had ordained and the People confirmed.

Appian, who must have paraphrased this unusually precise piece of chronological information from a well-informed Latin source²⁴, clearly records that at the very beginning of 33, two years of the second five-year

before Misenum, the triumvirs had assigned the consulships for the years 38, 37, 36 and 35, and then at Misenum designated the consuls for the years 34, 33, 32 and 31. I should observe that the treaty of Puteoli and the preliminary arrangements had all been made in the expectation that the planned second triumviral term would run from January 37 to December 33. At this point in time, none of the protagonists could have foreseen that, by force of circumstances, the second *quinquennium* would eventually only begin from January 36 and expire in December 32. Had Sextus Pompeius really been appointed consul-designate for 33, the first year after his quinquennial command, his privilege to hold the consulship *in absentia* would have made little sense.

²² For brief outlines of the chief events of 38 and 37, see *MRR* 2, p. 390-392 & 396.

²³ For what has by now become the standard view, see, e.g., *MRR* 2, p. 396 («a second term of five years, counting retroactively from the end of the first on December 31, 38», predictably with first and foremost reference to the *Fasti Capitolini*) & GIRARDET (1995) 151 «Das Gesetz aber muß mit rückwirkender Kraft verabschiedet worden sein. Denn die Berechnung des zweiten Quinquenniums beginnt, wie die Position der *Illuiri* vor den Konsuln des Jahres [37] im Fasteneintrag zeigt, rückwirkend unmittelbar im Anschluß an das Ende des ersten Quinquenniums, also am 1. Januar 37 v.Chr.»

²⁴ Unlike, for example, GABBA (1970) 11-12, I am inclined not to believe that this source actually was one of Augustus' own writings.

term remained, and that the triumvirs eventually did take the trouble to have the Comitia legalise their edict, probably at the outset of 36²⁵. As several scholars have rightly concluded, this means that the second *quinquennium* ran from 1 January 36 to 31 December 32²⁶. Regardless of the revealing fact that the relatively quiet year 37 was thus not covered by either of both statutory terms²⁷, there are some more indirect yet powerful

²⁵ Amongst others, GABBA (1970) 10 & BRINGMANN (1988) 28 rightly conclude that the triumvirs' decision for a second *quinquennium* was eventually ratified by the People. Gabba, however, does so primarily because he believes the triumvirs did not have the statutory power to take decisions with the force of law (comp. what he writes on p. 8). Compare also GIRARDET (1995) 151 n. 29: «Ein Plebiszit? Oder (wahrscheinlicher) ein Gesetz des Konsuls M. Agrippa?» COLI (1953) 415 rather implausibly suggests that only Octavianus «volendo apparire più rispettoso dei limiti costituzionali» and therefore bothered to have the People ratify his second term. MOMMSEN (1887) II, 718 bluntly rejects Appian's mention of a popular vote *post factum* in *Illyr.* 28 as «ein Versehen.»

²⁶ GABBA (1970) 11 (where he firmly rejects the suggestion that the renewal of 37 was retroactive, beginning from January of that year), and ANELLO (1980) 110-111. On p. 113, Anello also quotes Suet., *Aug.* 8.3 (*ab eo tempore exercitibus comparatis primum cum M. Antonio M. que Lepido, deinde tantum cum Antonio per duodecim fere annos, nouissime per quattuor et quadraginta solus rem publicam tenuit*) as proof of the fact that Octavianus was triumvir up to and including 32, i.e., roughly twelve years from November 43. GIRARDET (1995) 155-157 rightly explains that this rather rash assertion overstretches (the scope of) Suetonius' words. Appian's precise chronological pointer in *Illyr.* 28 is rejected altogether by, e.g., MOMMSEN (1887) II, 718 n. 1 («Irrig giebt Appian *Illyr.* 28 den 31 Dec. 722 als Endtermin des zweiten Quinquennium an, vermutlich weil die Consularstellung erst am 1. Jan. 723 anhebt»); BENARIO (1975) 305; BLEICKEN (1990) 14 n. 28; LEWIS (1991) 62 («apparent aberration»); GIRARDET (1995) 154 («ein fehlerhaftes, von Quellen (Augustus) unabhängiges Raisonnement des Historikers Appian»); and PELLING (1996) 67-68, who argues that «that seems to be his own misinterpretation: even though in *Ill.* Appian is in general drawing on Augustus' *Autobiography*, it would not be surprising if Augustus was delicately vague in that work about his status in 32, and it would be in Appian's manner to fill out the gap with his own explanation.» In an attempt to explain Appian's hapless mistake, Pelling argues that «As Antony and Octavian were due to assume the consulship on 1 January 31, it was tempting to infer that the triumvirate was due to expire on the previous day, and that perhaps misled Appian.»

²⁷ The year 37 turned out to be a veritable interlude in many respects (comp. Dio XLIX 23.1). That this irregular situation was bound to create confusion from an early stage is clear from Appian's potentially misleading statement that the first triumviral term was 'expiring' (*B.C.* V 95: ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἔληγε τῆς ἀρχῆς) at the time of the second five-year grant, a representation which is at odds with his unambiguous explanation in *Illyr.* 28 (supra; clearly implying that the second triumviral *quinquennium* covered the years 36 up to and including 32) and wrongly creates the impression that the first triumvirate ran from 1 January 41 to 1 January 36. Therefore, it should not come as a surprise that events in 37 continue to confuse scholarship. PELLING, for example, observes in (1996) 67, that Appian's words in *B.C.* V 95 seem to imply that he «wrongly thought that the triumvirs still held office in 37, when in fact this had *already* expired (cf. Dio XLVIII 54.6 [cf. supra]). This implies the untenable presumption that Antonius, Octavianus and Lepidus continued to run the Republic in 37 as *priati*.

indicators that the triumvirate had not lapsed on 31 December 33, and that the second triumviral *quinquennium* in all likelihood comprised the year 32.

First, the notorious Senate meetings of January 32 show that Caesar Octavianus still retained his triumvirate at this point in time. At the Senate's first meeting on 1 January 32, it was the consul C. Sosius' frontal attack on Octavianus that sparked off the series of cataclysmic events that ended in the establishment of enduring monarchy in Rome. In L 3.5, Dio recounts that after a period of mature deliberation Octavianus returned to Rome to convene the Senate, took his (customary) seat between the consuls upon his *sella curulis* (ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπὶ δίφρου ἀρχικοῦ ἰζήσας) and, surrounded by his guard of soldiers, in his turn vehemently accused Sosius and Antonius²⁸. Although many scholars have condemned this action as an outright *coup d'état*, especially as both consuls secretly fled Rome after Octavianus' counterattack, there is every indication that he acted perfectly within his authority as triumvir. First of all, Appian attests in *B.C.* V 21 that, unlike the consuls, the triumvirs were entitled to an armed guard by virtue of their office, διὰ τὴν ἀρχήν²⁹. More importantly, however, the very fact that Caesar Octavianus sat on a *sella curulis* with the consuls is proof positive that he still acted as a magistrate of the Roman People³⁰. As a matter of fact, the right of being seated between the consuls is just one of several remarkable privileges indicating the triumvirs' statutory superiority over the consuls in the official state hierarchy. A brief word of explanation is, perhaps, useful at this important point of the discussion.

Although triumvirs and consuls alike held *consulare imperium*, the *lex Titia* had temporarily transferred the *summum imperium auspicumque*, the supreme command and right of initiative in all public affairs, from the consuls to the plenipotentary new magistracy it had created³¹.

²⁸ In L 3.2, Dio records that Octavianus again convened the Senate after the departure of the consuls of 32. See, e.g., Gell. XIV 7.5 for the triumvirs having the right to convene the Senate *extraordinario iure*.

²⁹ As Appian in *B.C.* IV 7 indicates that Octavianus, Antonius and Lepidus in 43 entered Rome with their respective praetorian cohorts and one legion each, it is clear that the *lex Titia* merely sanctioned a privilege that they had already appropriated for themselves.

³⁰ Although he believes Octavianus to have held legitimate *imperium* in 32 *pro magistratu* (cf. *infra*), LEWIS (1991) 61 n. 28 has to admit that «In older Republican practice apparently only curule magistrates might use the *sella curulis*.»

³¹ See, for example, Dio L 25.2 for the fact that the triumvirs were invested with τὴν προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν, the primacy in all public affairs. By virtue of the Titian Law,

The most powerful proof of this is offered by Dio Cassius, who opens his account of the year 28 with the following statement³²:

τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει ἕκτον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦρξε, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου ἐποίησε, καὶ τοὺς φακέλους τῶν ῥάβδων τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ συνάρχοντί οἱ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον παρέδωκεν, αὐτός τε ταῖς ἐτέραις ἐχρήσατο, καὶ διάρχας τὸν ὄρκον κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπήγαγε.

The following year Caesar held the consulship for the sixth time. Besides acting in other respects in accordance with very ancient tradition, he handed over the *fascēs* to his colleague Agrippa, as was his duty, himself using the others, and, when his term of office was up, he took the oath in accordance with ancestral custom.

Dio's words show that during the tenure of the triumvirs, the consuls had been deprived of their *fascēs*³³. Under the Republic, the consular *turnus* of the *fascēs* strikingly symbolized the alternation of the *summum imperium auspiciumque*, and this both *domi* and, in a far more imperative way, *militiae*³⁴. In this respect, it is also helpful to recall that the consuls had to dismiss their lictors/*fascēs* in the presence of a dictator³⁵.

the triumviral college had been literally superimposed upon Rome's traditional machinery of state, both in Rome, Italy and in the provinces — comp. also Sen., *Cons. ad. Pol.* 16.1: *M. Antonius...tunc cum rem publicam constitueret et triumvirali potestate praeditus nihil supra se uideret, [et] exceptis uero duobus collegis omnia infra se cerneret*. For a concrete example of a direct triumviral order to the consuls, see App., *B.C.* IV 35, where it is recorded that at the turn of 43/42, the triumvirs were obliged to issue an edict ordering one of the consuls, C. Carrinas and P. Ventidius Bassus (cf. *B.C.* IV 2 & 6 for that fact that by the time of this edict, Caesar Octavianus had abdicated his first consulship whereas Q. Pedius had died of exhaustion) to restrain those killing and despoiling prominent citizens who had not been proscribed. For a reappraisal of the official position of the triumvirs in the Republic and vis-à-vis the regular (pro)magistrates in particular, see VERVAET (2010).

³² Dio LI 1.1.

³³ Just as the dictator Sulla in 82 assumed overall control of all state affairs by virtue of the *lex Valeria*, it is quite possible that the *lex Titia* explicitly confirmed that for the duration of the triumviral rule, the consuls were permanently deprived of their *fascēs*. Unfortunately, it is impossible to elucidate the question whether the consuls were temporarily deprived of their lictors, too.

³⁴ For a comprehensive inquiry into these matters, see my forthcoming monograph on 'The Principle of the *summum imperium auspiciumque* under the Roman Republic'.

³⁵ Livy XXII 11.5 & Plut., *Fab.* 4.3 both record that in 217, after Lake Trasimene, the dictator Q. Fabius Maximus ordered the consul Cn. Servilius Geminus to dismiss his lictors and lay aside the *insignia* of his office, and appear before him as if he were a private person. Although the dismissal of a magistrate's lictors normally symbolized his discharge, it is beyond all doubt that Cn. Servilius stayed in office for the remainder of 217 (*MRR* 1, p. 242 — see Livy XXII 9.10 for the fact that M. Atilius Regulus was elected consul in place of C. Flaminius). Therefore, it is better to assume that the consuls were simply obliged to dismiss their lictors temporarily when being in the presence of a dictator.

This formal procedure was a remarkable public acknowledgement of the institutional reality that whenever one or both consul(s) and a dictator were present in Rome or were campaigning jointly, the *summum imperium auspiciumque* automatically devolved upon the dictator by virtue of his *maius imperium* and his special status as Rome's exceptional sole supreme commander. Since the triumvirs, too, took precedence over the consuls as heads of state in all matters civil and military as lawful holders of the *summum imperium auspiciumque*³⁶, their right to sit between the consuls in the Senate, however extraordinary, was only logical³⁷. The triumviral superiority in the official magisterial hierarchy is further displayed by the *Fasti Consulares*, which duly lists all three of them before the ordinary consuls of the year 37, M. Vipsanius Agrippa and L. Caninius Gallus³⁸. As is obvious from, for example, the *lex Munatia Aemilia* of 42, the consuls (and all other magistrates) were still perfectly entitled to exercise their official prerogatives³⁹. They were, however, temporarily subordinate to the triumvirs' supreme authority, very much like the praetors to that of the consuls, and could therefore only act with triumviral approval, certainly not without or against it⁴⁰.

³⁶ There is, however, no indication whatsoever that the Titian Law defined the triumvirs' *consulare imperium* as *maius quam* that of the consuls and the proconsuls.

³⁷ It should not be doubted that the dictators Sulla and Caesar had equally enjoyed this privilege as exclusive holders of the *summum imperium auspiciumque*. In 19 BCE, this remarkable privilege was again conferred upon the proconsul Augustus as he was invested with the lifelong (consular) *summum imperium auspiciumque* in Italy: see Dio LIV 10.5. For a full discussion of this measure and its historic significance, see VERVAET (2010).

³⁸ DEGRASSI, *Inscr. It.* XIII 1, 58-59. As Lepidus figures first, then M. Antonius and finally Imperator Caesar Divi f., MOMMSEN (1887) II, 707 n. 3 rightly observes that this order «ist bestimmt durch das consularische Alter». In the *Fasti Colotiani*, which record the names of the consuls from 45 up to and including 40 and then again from 23 up to and including 12 (DEGRASSI, *Inscr. It.* XIII 1, 273-274), Lepidus, Antonius and Imp. Caesar are again in that order listed as *Illuir(i) r(ei) p(ublicae) c(onstituendae)*. Interestingly enough, these *Fasti* list the triumvirs after the (ordinary and suffect consuls) of 43, probably to list them only once again after the consuls of 37, when the second triumviral *quinquennium* was granted. Cf. *infra* for the fact that in the Augustan *Fasti Consulares*, the triumvirs were only listed for 42 and then again for 37, at the outset of the two 'official' triumviral *quinquennia* as (back-)dated by Augustus.

³⁹ See LAFFI (1993) 37-59 (esp. 47-48) for the fact that under the triumvirs, the curule and plebeian magistrates continued to discharge their functions, whereas *SPQR* continued to vote *s.c.* and laws respectively. Comp. also, e.g., Dio XLVIII 4.1 & 33.5; and BLEICKEN (1990) 49-50. For a good discussion of the *lex Munatia Aemilia*, see RAGGI (2006) 85-94.

⁴⁰ Whereas the *imperium* of the consuls was *maius* with respect to that of the praetors, the same was not true for the *imperium* of the triumvirs vis-à-vis that of the consuls. The triumvirs were merely invested with the *summum imperium auspiciumque* in the Republic.

At any rate, by reinstating the consular (*turnus* of) *fascēs*, Octavianus publicly affirmed his wish to govern the Republic in his capacity of consul with M. Agrippa from January/February 28. By this measure, he had officially restored the consuls' traditional role as leading magistrates of the Roman Republic⁴¹. Although this obscure detail in Roman history may now seem nothing more than a symbolic gesture and a mere *fait divers*, the revival of the consular *turnus* at the outset of 28 must have been no small feat in the eyes of the old Republican nobility. Events in the run-up to and the settlement of the *bellum Perusinum* offer, perhaps, some of the most compelling proof of this. In 41, the consul Lucius Antonius, who «sided with the [then famished and dispossessed Italian] people and resented the triumvirate, which seemed not likely to come to an end at the appointed time»⁴², notoriously clashed with Octavianus and his soldiery. After he had collected a bodyguard from the Antonian colonies, the first promise Lucius demanded (and obtained) was «that the consuls should exercise their office in the ancestral manner and not be hindered by the triumvirs»⁴³. As the precarious agreement soon collapsed and an attempt at another arbitration failed, Lucius proceeded to raise an army of six legions in Italy which, as Appian emphatically adds, «he commanded by virtue of his consulship», indicating that consular military command was highly irregular under triumviral rule⁴⁴. Appian also carefully records that, once the war broke out, most of the *nobiles* joined Lucius out of dissatisfaction with the rule of the triumvirs⁴⁵. After he had seized Rome with his army, Lucius made a remarkable speech to

⁴¹ Comp. also RODDAZ (2003) 401: «la magistrature consulaire retrouvait, au moins temporairement, sa place au sommet de l'État, d'autant que ses principes fondamentaux étaient réaffirmés: d'abord la collégialité, mais aussi le maintien en charge de deux titulaires sans qu'il soit fait appel à des consuls suffects.» That Octavianus was serious about his intention to share the supreme command with his colleague is clear from, for example, Dio LIII 1.4-6 (Caesar and Agrippa jointly presiding over the festival voted in honour of the Actian victory) and the *Fasti Venusini*, which record that the *lustrum* of 28 was conducted by Imperator Caesar as *consul VI* and Agrippa as *consul II*, empowered with *ensoria potestate*: DEGRASSI, *Inscr. It.* XIII 1, 254-255: *IMP-CAESAR-VI-M-AGRIPPA-II / IDEM -ENSORIA-POTEST-LVSTRVM-FECER* — comp. also R.G. 8.2: *Et in consulatu sexto census populi conlega M(arco) Agrippa egi*.

⁴² App., *B.C.* V 19: ὄντι δημοτικῷ καὶ δυσχεραίνοντι τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ χρόνῳ παύσεσθαι νομιζομένην.

⁴³ App., *B.C.* V 20: τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους τὰ πάτρια διοικεῖν μὴ κωλυομένους ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν.

⁴⁴ App., *B.C.* V 19-24 & 27.

⁴⁵ *B.C.* V 29. See V 40-41 & 48 for the fact that many high-ranking *nobiles* had been shut in at Perusia with L. Antonius.

the citizens, declaring «that he should visit punishment upon Caesar and Lepidus for their lawless rule, and that his brother would voluntarily resign his share of it and accept the consulship, exchanging an unlawful magistracy for a lawful one, a tyranny for the polity of their fathers.»⁴⁶ According to Appian, the people in Rome rejoiced at what they thought was the end of triumviral rule and enthusiastically saluted Lucius *Imperator*⁴⁷. In January 40, when the plight of his besieged army in Perusia had become desperate, Lucius reportedly first addressed his soldiers. Appian relates that he opened this political valedictory by claiming that he had always fought for the restoration of the Republic and the end of triumviral rule, which had, contrary to its intent, not been ended by the final victories over Cassius and Brutus at Philippi:

γνώμη μὲν ἦν μοι τὴν πάτριον ὁμὴν ἀποδοῦναι πολιτείαν, ᾧ συστρατιῶται τυρρανίδα τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρχὴν καὶ οὐδ', ἐφ' ἣ συνέστη προφάσει, Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου τεθνεώτων διαλυθεῖσαν. Λεπίδου γάρ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄφηρημένου καὶ Ἀντωνίου πορρωτάτῳ χρήματα συλλέγοντος, εἰς οὗτος ἅπαντα πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην διώκει, τὰ δὲ πάτρια Ῥωμαῖοι πρόσχημα μόνον ἦν καὶ γέλως, ἅπερ ἐγὼ μεταβάλλειν ἐς τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐλευθερίαν τε καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἐπινοῶν ὕξιον τῶν ἐπινικίων διαδοθέντων ἐκλυθῆναι τὴν μοναρχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθον, ἐπειρώμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς καταναγκάσαι⁴⁸.

It was my intention, fellow-soldiers, to restore the Republic to you when I saw that the government of the triumvirs was a tyranny, which was established, indeed, on the pretext of combating Brutus and Cassius, but was not relaxed after their death. Lepidus had been deprived of his share of the government, Antonius was far away collecting money, and this one man was managing everything according to his own will, and the ancestral system of Roman government was only a

⁴⁶ App., *B.C.* V 30: Καίσαρα μὲν καὶ Λέπιδον αὐτίκα δώσειν δίκην ἀρχῆς βιαίου, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν αὐτὴν ἐκόντα ἀποθήσεσθαι καὶ ὑπατεῖαν ἀλλάχθῃ, νομιμωτέραν ἀρχὴν παρανόμου καὶ πάτριον ἀντὶ τῆς τυρρανικῆς.

⁴⁷ *B.C.* V 30-31. Comp. also Dio XLVIII 13.5, where it is recorded that Lucius in Rome had the popular assembly pass a vote authorizing him to leave the City for the purpose of making war, after he had addressed the people «in military uniform, which no one else had done.» This defiant gesture further shows that L. Antonius took his role as a Roman consul fighting for the full and unconditional restoration of the traditional polity most seriously. Since a *lex Iulia* of 46(?) had ruled that consul(ar)s and praetor(ian)s could only assume their provincial commands after the expiry of their tenure (cf. Cic., *Phil.* 1.19; Dio XLIII 25.3 and App., *B.C.* III 6 & IV 57), this popular vote underscores his desire to act as a champion of the ancestral Republic and its customary and statutory rules and regulations.

⁴⁸ *B.C.* V 39.

pretence and a laughing-stock. With the intention of reverting to the freedom and democratic government of our ancestors, I asked that after the rewards of victory had been distributed the monarchy should be dissolved. When my request was not granted, I sought to enforce it by virtue of my office.

In his capitulation speech to Octavianus himself, he bitterly lamented his failure to persuade the triumvirs to revive the magistracies in accordance with the *patrius mos* and to achieve this goal during his own consulship. He twice insisted that from the very start, the restoration of the ancestral Republic had always been the true motive for his armed struggle against Octavianus. Regardless of the question of his sincerity, Lucius' high-flown argument is so interesting for the further purposes of this paper that it is worthwhile to quote the argument in its entirety:

Ἐγὼ τὸν πρὸς σε πόλεμον ἡράμην, οὐχ ἵνα σε καθελὼν διαδέχωμαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ἀναλάβω τῇ πατρίδι, λελυμένην ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆς, ὥς οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἀντείποις· καὶ γάρ ὅτε συνίστασθε αὐτήν, ὁμολογοῦντες εἶναι παράνομον, ὥς ἀναγκαίαν καὶ πρόσκαιρον ἐτίθεσθε Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου περιόντων ἔτι καὶ ὑμῶν ἐκείνοις οὐ δυναμένων συναλλαγήναι. ἀποθανόντων δὲ ἐκείνων, οἱ τὸ τῆς στάσεως κεφάλαιον ἦσαν, καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων εἴ τινα λείψανα ἔστιν, οὐ τῇ πολιτείᾳ πολεμοῦντων, ἀλλὰ ὑμᾶς δεδιότων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῆς πενταετίας παριούσης, ἀνακῦψαι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τὰ πάτρια ἡξίουں, οὐ προτιμῶν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τῆς πατρίδος, ἀλλ' ἐλπίζων μὲν ἐπανελθόντα πείσειν ἐκόντα, ἐπευγόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι. καὶ εἰ κατῆρξας σύ, μόνος ἂν καὶ τὴν δόξαν εἶχες. ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ σε οὐκ ἔπειθον, ὥμην ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ Ῥώμην καὶ ἀναγκάσαι, πολίτης τε ὢν καὶ γνώριμος καὶ ὕπατος. αἱ μὲν αἰτίαι, δι' ἃς ἐπολέμησα, αὐταὶ μόναι, καὶ οὔτε ὁ ἀδελφὸς οὔτε Μάνιος οὔτε Φουλβία, οὔτε ἡ κληρουχία τῶν ἐν Φιλίπποις πεπολεμηκότων οὔτε ἔλεος τῶν γεωργῶν τὰ κλήματα ἀφαιρουμένων, ἐπεὶ καὶ γὰρ τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τέλεσιν οἰκιστὰ ἔδωκα, οἱ τὰ τῶν γεωργῶν ἀφαιρούμενοι τοῖς στρατευσαμένοις διένεμον. ἀλλὰ με σὺ τήνδε τὴν διαβολὴν αὐτοῖς διέβαλλες, τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου μεταφέρων ἐπὶ τὴν κληρουχίαν ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ, καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐλὼν ἐμοῦ κεκράτηκας· ἀνεπείσθησαν γὰρ πολεμεῖσθαι τε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι με ἀδικοῦντα. τεχνάζειν μὲν δὴ σε ἔδει πολεμοῦντα· νικήσαντα δέ, εἰ μὲν ἐξθρὸς εἴ τῆς πατρίδος, κάμει ἡγεῖσθαι πολέμιον ἃ ἔδοξα συνοίσειν αὐτῇ, βουληθέντα μὲν, οὐ δυνηθέντα δὲ διὰ λιμόν.

I undertook this war against you, not in order to succeed to the leadership by destroying you but to restore to the Fatherland the aristocratic government which had been subverted by the triumvirate, as not even

yourself will deny. For when you created the triumvirate you acknowledged that it was adverse to customary practice⁴⁹, but you established it as something necessary and temporary because Cassius and Brutus were still alive and you could not be reconciled with them. When they, who had been the head of the rebellion, were dead, and the remainder, if there were any left, were bearing arms, not against the state, but because they feared you, and moreover the five years' term was running out, I demanded that the magistracies should be revived in accordance with the *patrius mos*, not even preferring my brother to my Fatherland, but hoping to persuade him to assent upon his return and hastening to bring this about during my own term of office. If you had begun this reform you alone would have reaped the glory. Since I was not able to persuade you, I thought to march against the City and to use force, being a citizen, a nobleman, and a consul. These are the causes of the war I waged and these alone: not my brother, nor Manius, nor Fulvia, nor the colonization of those who fought at Philippi, nor pity for the cultivators who were deprived of their holdings, since I myself appointed the leaders of colonies to my brother's legions who deprived the cultivators of their possessions and divided them among the soldiers. Yet you brought this charge against me before the soldiers, shifting the cause of the war from yourself to the land distribution, and in this way chiefly you drew them to your side and overcame me, for they were persuaded that I was warring against them, and that they were defending themselves against my wrong-doing. You certainly needed to use artifice while you were waging war. Now that you have conquered, if you are the enemy of the Fatherland you must consider me your enemy also, since I wished what I thought was for her advantage, but was prevented by famine from accomplishing it.⁵⁰

Suffice it for now to conclude that L. Antonius' emphatic statement that he planned to march against Rome as «a *ciuis Romanus*, a *nobilis* and a consul» plainly shows that the restoration of consular supremacy in the Republic was the primary aspect of the desirable yet still unattainable restitution of the magistracies and the traditional political order. Although the massive and brutal expropriations in Italy and dire famine were the prime triggers of the Perusine war and the ferocious involvement of the Italian municipal and rural elites⁵¹, there is every indication

⁴⁹ In the Loeb edition of 1961⁴ (Appian's *Roman History* IV, transl. H. WHITE) παράνομον is translated by «not in accordance with law». As Lucius here refers not so much to flaws in the voting procedure as to the fact that the triumvirate *r.p.c.* and its extraordinary powers ran counter to the traditional political order, it seems better to translate it by 'adverse to customary practice'.

⁵⁰ App., *B.C.* V 43

⁵¹ See esp. Dio XLVIII 6-9.

that the wish to restore the traditional senatorial oligarchy in Rome loomed large in the minds of L. Antonius and his aristocratic confederates. This is clear from what Lucius reportedly said to Octavianus after the fall of Perusia, just before he was honourably dismissed to govern Spain:

I knew that Fulvia was in favour of the monarchy, but I joined with her and made use of my brother's soldiers to overthrow all of you. And now if my brother should come to dissolve the monarchy I will go to join him, either openly or secretly, and will fight you again in behalf of the Fatherland, although you have been a benefactor to me. But if he seeks allies to assist him in maintaining the tyranny, I will fight on your side against him as long as I think that you, too, are not trying to establish a monarchy. For I shall always set my Fatherland above gratitude and above family⁵².

Another indication for 31 December 32 is the fact that, until M. Antonius' formal replacement by M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus early in 32⁵³, he and Octavianus were scheduled to hold the consulship jointly in 31. This makes perfect sense only if one takes Appian's note in *Illyr.* 28 at face value⁵⁴. In the above, it has already been argued that as part of the decision-making at Puteoli, the consulships as well as other public offices

⁵² App., *B.C.* V 54: Φουλβίας μὲν ἡσθόμην οὔσης μοναρχικῆς, ἐγὼ δὲ συνεχρόμεν τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ στρατοῖς ἐς τὴν ἀπάντων ὑμῶν καθαίρεσιν. καὶ νῦν, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς μοναρχίας ἐχροῖτο ὁ ἀδελφός, καὶ φανερώς καὶ λαθὼν οἰχῆσομαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀγωνιούμενος αὐθις ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πρὸς σέ, καίπερ ἤδη μοι γενόμενον εὐεργέτην. εἰ δ' ἐπιλέγοιτο κάκεῖνος καὶ διακρίνοι τοὺς συμμοναρχήσοντας αὐτῷ, πολεμήσω σὺν σοὶ πρὸς αὐτόν, ἕως ἂν ἡγῶμαι μηδὲ σέ μοναρχίαν καθίστασθαι· τὸ γὰρ τῆς πατρίδος αἰεὶ προθήσω καὶ χάριτος καὶ γένους. This defiant statement further shows Lucius' sérieux as a staunch traditionalist and the sincerity of his insistence that Brutus and Cassius being defeated and their party crushed, the triumvirs should abdicate and reconstitute the ancestral polity at their earliest convenience. It should, therefore, not come as a surprise that Marcus Antonius was not amused at what his brother had been doing at Perusia and that he went on to have Manius, Lucius' influential procurator, executed (App., *B.C.* V 52 & 66). RODDAZ (1988) 317-346 (esp. 334-343) has argued conclusively that Lucius' policy in 41/40 «ne constitue pas un épisode de la lutte entre les triumvirs, même si, à ses côtés, les initiatives de Fulvie et de Manius se situent dans cette perspective, mais bien un ultime sursaut pour rétablir la République.» (quoted from p. 344). This brief discussion of (the scope of) Lucius' role and rhetoric further corroborates Roddaz' outstanding analysis.

⁵³ *MRR* 2, p. 419-420.

⁵⁴ A point duly made by most scholars who argue for 31 December 32 as the deadline of the second triumviral *quinquennium* — see, e.g., RIDLEY (2003) 173: «Those of 32 were two of Antony's cronies; would Octavian have left them to take power when the triumvirate ended? It was obviously the consulship of himself and Antony planned for 31 which signalled the end of the triumvirate.»

were assigned for the period 36-33. In XLVIII 54.6, Dio records that at Tarentum in 37, Octavianus and Antonius inevitably deprived Sextus Pompeius of his augurate as well as of the consulship to which he had been appointed⁵⁵. Since Dio proceeds to tell that this meeting also occasioned the postponed extension of the triumvirate by another five years (cf. *supra*), it should not be doubted that the triumvirs decided on a reshuffle of existing arrangements concerning the years 36 (L. Gellius Publicola & M. Cocceius Nerva), 35 (Sex. Pompeius⁵⁶ & L. Cornificius), 34 (M. Antonius & L. Scribonius Libo) and 33 (Octavianus & L. Volcatius Tullus), completed with a series of additional designations for 32 (Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus & C. Sosius) and, finally, 31 (M. Antonius & Octavianus)⁵⁷. A considerable change of the political constellation simply required a comprehensive and expedient new arrangement. As the second *quinquennium* was now bound to expire on 1 January 31, Antonius and Octavianus made sure that their long planned joint consulship should conveniently cap their second triumviral term⁵⁸. This projected calendar must have fed the expectation that, at long last, they intended formally to abdicate their triumvirate and so restore the traditional political order either at the very end of 32, or, more probably, as *consules tertium* in January 31.

⁵⁵ In XLVIII 53.3-4, Dio alludes to the fact that Sextus' associates, too, were stripped of their offices (designate) in 37.

⁵⁶ In my opinion, Sextus Pompeius Magnus Pius' replacement by another Sextus Pompeius was a deliberate choice that was meant both as a sarcastic insult to the former and a public hint that even Pompeii were eligible for the highest honours if only loyal and obedient.

⁵⁷ As Appian (*B.C.* V 73) lists Antonius and Libo for 38 (= 36 BCE); Octavianus and Sextus Pompeius for 37 (= 35 BCE); Ahenobarbus and Sosius for 36 (= 34 BCE); and Antonius and Octavianus for 35 (= 33 BCE), all but one of the designations of Puteoli were simply postponed by two years, whereas new arrangements had to be made for 36 and 35.

⁵⁸ Dio's untenable claim that the triumvirs in 39 assigned the consulships for the next eight years becomes perfectly explicable if we assume that he lumped the multi-year designations of 39 and 37 together and mistakenly believed the original arrangement of 39 to include the years 38 and 37, too. As PELLING (1996) 20 & 68 believes that the triumvirs designated the consulships up to and including either 32 or 31, he unavoidably has to account for the «oddity» that «at Misenum, when they [i.e., M. Antonius and Caesar Octavianus] completed their consular lists for the following years, they had fixed on 31 rather than 32 as the date for their own consulship.» Pelling tries to clear this problem by arguing that «that may well have been Antony's choice: he was in a strong position at both Brundisium and Misenum, and the Antonians Ahenobarbus and Sosius were due to be consuls in 32. Antony may well have been content to rely on them to support him and embarrass Octavian in a crucial year.»

3. THE TRIUMVIRATE *R.P.C.* AS A NON-ANNUAL MAGISTRACY

Although its battery of exceptional powers definitely set the *triumvirates rei publicae constituendae* aside as a magisterial college of remarkable singularity, it can still be shown that it had all distinctive features that commonly mark the extraordinary magistracies as they occurred during the Republic's last three centuries⁵⁹. First, these magistracies were created *extra ordinem*, i.e., outside of the traditional *cursus honorum* of the *magistratus annui*, to execute special or unusual tasks⁶⁰. In November 43, the extraordinary commission of the *triumviri r.p.c.* was to put an end to the civil dissensions that threatened to destroy the Republic⁶¹. Second, such magistracies were mostly constituted by virtue of laws passed in the tribal assemblies, not in the *comitia centuriata*, even though they usually carried *praetorium imperium* and *auspicium maximum*⁶². These constitutive laws, mostly passed *ex s.c.*, defined the

⁵⁹ With regard to the term extraordinary magistracy, COLI (1953) 412 rightly points out that «queste classificazioni sono creazioni della dottrina romanistica moderna e non si trovano enunziate nelle fonti.» Nonetheless, Cicero's words in *Leg. Agr.* 2.24 (*Praesentem enim profiteri iubet, quod nulla alia in lege umquam fuit ne in iis quidem magistratibus quorum certus ordo est*) suggest that using the term *magistratus extraordinarii* for special ad hoc magistracies such as the 'Rullan' *decemviri* and the *triumvirates r.p.c.* is not altogether inappropriate.

⁶⁰ On the basis of their relative frequency, one might to a certain extent argue that the dictatorship and especially the *censura* still were part of the traditional *cursus honorum*.

⁶¹ App., *B.C.* IV 2 & 7 (cf. *supra*, n. 8). For the triumvirs' original commission, see also the introduction of the notorious proscription edict as quoted in App., *B.C.* IV 8: «Marcus Lepidus, Marcus Antonius, and Octavius Caesar, chosen by the People to set in order and regulate the *res publica*»: Μάρκος Λέπιδος, Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος, Ὀκτάουιος Καίσαρ, οἱ χειροτονηθέντες ἁρμόσαι καὶ διορθῶσαι τὰ κοινά. Unsurprisingly, as circumstances often drastically changed over the next few years the concrete interpretation of the commission to 'constitute the Republic' was repeatedly redefined by the triumvirs in order to legitimate their continuing tenure of the plenipotentiary magistracy.

⁶² For extraordinary magistracies carrying *imperium*, see, e.g., Livy XXXIV 53.1-2 (194 BCE: [*coloniis*] *deducendis triumviri creati, quibus in triennium imperium*); Cic., *Leg. Agr.* II 32 (*Dat praeterea potestatem uerbo praetoriam, re uera regiam*: not the praetorian *potestas* but its enhancement with special powers being reprehensible — see Cic., *Man.* 69 & Tac., *Ann.* XIV 18.2 for *praetoria potestas* being synonymous with *praetorium imperium*) & II 60 (*Xiui cum imperio, infinita pecunia, maxima potestate et iudicio rerum omnium*); and App., *B.C.* IV 7 (the *triumviri r.p.c.* held the *consulare imperium*: ἴσον ἰσχύουσιν ὑπᾶτοσις. Livy XXXII 1.6 (199 BCE) shows that commissions *agris adsignandis* must have required *praetorium imperium*. For possession of the *auspicium*, see esp. Cic., *Leg. Agr.* II 27-31, where Cicero vehemently attacks the *rogatio Serulia agraria* for a provision substituting the regular (vote of a) *lex curiata (de imperio)* in confirmation of the magisterial *auspicia*. That the *lex curiata de imperio* was most probably passed to confirm the *auspicia publica* of the *magistratus cum imperio* as being the *auspicia patriciorum*

number, function(s) and powers of the magistracy, and could provide for a direct election, a *nominatim* appointment, or command a complementary election⁶³. If need be, the constitutive law could furthermore set an official term for the completion of the commission provided. Depending on the magnitude of the task, this *tempus* could span more than one

maxima and so qualified their *imperium* as *iustum* can be inferred from the combined information provided in Livy VI 41.5-6 & XXII 1.5-6; Cic., *Leg. Agr.* II 27-31; and (the augur M. Valerius Messalla Rufus, *cos.* 53, in) Gell. XIII 15.4. For evidence suggesting that every individual *magistratus annuus cum imperio* had to conduct the vote of his own *lex curiata de imperio*: Cic., *Leg. Agr.* II 26 & 28 (as FERRARY [1977] 649 & n. 106 cleverly points out the fact that Cicero here does not object «sur le fait de confier au *praetor primus* le soin de proposer la loi curiate, et indépendamment de l'opportunité de cette loi [i.e., on behalf of the so-called Rullan *decemviri* of December 63], il n'élève aucune objection», praetors passing *leges curiatae de imperio* on their own behalf and, occasionally, that of extraordinary magistrates, must have been standard procedure) and 2.30; Dio XLI 43.3. Since Messalla in Gell. XIII 15.4 indicates that possession of the *auspicia maxima*, regularly held by consuls, praetors and censors, qualified a magistracy as a *magistratus maior*, the extraordinary magistracies, too, should be defined as such. Whereas, however, the regular *magistratus maiores* were chosen in the *comitia centuriata* (Messalla in Gell., *loc. cit.*), the constitutive laws for *ad hoc* magistracies were mostly passed in the *comitia tributa*: see, e.g., Livy XXXIV 53.1-2 (194 BCE, with the praetor Urbanus subsequently presiding over the election of the *triumviri coloniis deducendis*, again quite probably by the tribal assemblies). At all events, MOMMSEN (1887) II, 710 is right to emphasize that «Ohne speciellen Volksschluss entsteht wie überhaupt keine ausserordentliche, so am wenigsten eine constituirende Magistratur.»

⁶³ Not entirely correct MOMMSEN (1887) II, 711: «Die Bestimmung der Person kann entweder erfolgen durch Anordnung eines Wahlacts oder es wird gleich in dem Einrichtungsgesetz die Person namentlich bezeichnet.» The constitutive laws were usually passed by consuls, praetors or tribunes of the *plebs*. For a series of probable and certain examples of direct election or *nominatim* appointment by virtue of the constitutive law, see, e.g. Livy XXIII 21.6-7 and 30.14-15 (216 BCE); XL 18.7-8 (181 BCE); and, most notoriously, the Valerian (82 BCE) and Titian (43 BCE) Laws for the creation of extraordinary magistrates *rei publicae constituendae*. For probable and certain examples of appointments through complementary elections held by virtue of the constitutive law, see, e.g., Livy IX 30.3-4 (311 BCE); X 21.7-10 (296 BCE); XXXI 4.1-3 (201 BCE); XXXII 29.3-4 (197 BCE); XXXIV 53.1-2 (194 BCE); XXXV 9.7-8 (193 BCE); XXXV 40.5-7 (192 BCE); XXXVII 46.9-11 (190 BCE); XXXIX 23.3-4 (186 BCE); XXXIX 55.5-6 (183 BCE); XLII 4.3-4 (173 BCE) — in many cases, it is likely that Livy omits constitutive plebiscites and only mentions the initiating *senatus consulta* and the actual election (*e lege ex s.c.*), the first and final stages of the procedure — and, finally, Cic., *Leg. Agr.* II 16-18, 21 & 31, where Cicero records that the *rogatio Servilia* exceptionally provided for an election of *decemviri* by only 17 *tribus* to be selected by lot, on the model of the *comitia* for the pontifex Maximus, and not, as usual for such agrarian commissions, by the entire *comitia tributa*. The magistrate presiding over the complementary, electoral *comitia* usually (though not always) was the praetor Urbanus. The overall impression is one of considerable flexibility, the advisable procedure being determined by the circumstances and needs of the moment.

calendar year⁶⁴. The triumvirs *r.p.c.* were appointed *nominatim* by the constitutive *plebiscitum Titium* which invested them with greatly enhanced consular *imperium* and provided for a quinquennial *tempus legitimum*. Third, it was perfectly possible to combine two non-annual magistracies or a non-annual one with an annual one, curule or plebeian, whereas the combination of two annual (curule or plebeian) magistracies was inadmissible⁶⁵. All three of the triumvirs *r.p.c.* held the consulship at least once during their triumviral tenure. It is, however, the fourth recurrent feature of the extraordinary magistracies of the Roman People that is of particular interest to this inquiry.

In 1953, the Italian historian Ugo Coli wrote a brilliant but sadly ignored paper on the temporal limitation of Roman magistracies in which he deepened and, for that matter, significantly improved the relevant views of Th. Mommsen. To my thinking, it is this pioneering study that holds the true key to unsolving the question of Caesar Octavianus' official position from January 31 to the epoch-making arrangements of January 27⁶⁶.

Coli first points out that although the basic principles of the Republican polity required all Roman magistracies be *ad tempus*, some were *ad tempus certum*, with a well-defined duration, whilst others *ad tempus incertum*, without a fixed term. Given the continuous indispensability of their functions, the consulship and all other permanently recurring magistracies were limited to one year. Those magistracies, however, that carried exceptional or unusual responsibilities had inherent temporal limitations, since their *raison d'être* ceased to exist from the moment their designated task was fulfilled. The best known examples of the latter category are the dictatorship, its different *causae* defining its specific functions, and the *censura*. Although the *dictatura rei gerundae causa* and the censorship were indeed limited to six and eighteen months respectively, these *tempora* were meant as the maximum time span for the completion of the set task.

⁶⁴ See, e.g., Livy XXXII 29.4 (197 BCE: *triumviri deducendis iis, qui per triennium magistratum haberent*); XXXIV 53.2 (194 BCE: *His deducendis triumviri creati, quibus in triennium imperium esset*) & Cic., *Leg. Agr.* II 32 (*definit in quinquennium, facit semipiternam*), 34 & 64.

⁶⁵ See MOMMSEN (1887) I, 513-517 & II, 146 (*dictator*), 174 (*magister equitum*) & 340 (*censores*); and VERVAET (2007) 230-231 (with regard to the *magisterium equitum*).

⁶⁶ COLI (1953). This fundamental paper being published in a Festschrift rather than in a journal probably accounts for its unfortunate and wholly undeserved obscurity. And those few scholars who have read it bluntly reject its conclusions: see, e.g., GABBA (1970) 7.

In correlation with this sharp distinction, Coli goes on to explain, there also existed a fundamental difference as regards the *cessatio* of both categories of magistracies. Once their term expired, the *magistratus annui* lapsed automatically, *ipso iure*. If they had not been granted the right further to exercise the *potestas* of the magistracy concerned by virtue of explicit prorogation their occupants irreversibly became private citizens. This form of *cessatio* was termed *magistratu abire* and was an involuntary act⁶⁷. The magistracies *ad tempus incertum*, however, could not cease *ipso iure*, since their occupants had to abdicate, i.e., to commit the act of *uoluntate abire magistratu*. On the one hand, it was indeed generally expected that the magistrate concerned should lay down his office as soon as the task to which he had been appointed was completed. From this very moment, there no longer was any rationale for the magistracy and staying in office was considered a censurable abuse. On the other hand, these magistrates nonetheless continued to hold office until formal and explicit abdication. Against Th. Mommsen⁶⁸, Coli rightly insists that even the *tempora* of the *dictatura rei gerundae* and the *censura* did not involve automatic termination, as formal abdication was still required to make these offices cease. Coli explains that their *tempora*, too, were purely comminatory, indicating the absolute maximum term for completion of the set task⁶⁹, and continues to argue that

⁶⁷ *Contra* L. Lange, who confounds both procedures, COLI (1953) 404 rightly explains that «Il giuramento *in leges* e il discorso *in contione* erano formalità dell'*abire magistratu*, paragonabili alle formalità dell'*inire magistratum*; ma l'*abire magistratu*, ossia l'uscita dalla carica, poteva aver luogo automaticamente, per l'arrivo della scadenza fissa, o volontariamente, per abdicazione. L'abdicazione veniva fatta dal magistrato che non era soggetto o non era ancora soggetto a perdere la carica per effetto della scadenza.»

⁶⁸ For MOMMSEN's views on the *tempora* of dictators and censors, see (1887) II, 159-162 (*dictator*) & 348-350 (*censor*). On the one hand, Mommsen correctly explains that for the dictatorship and the *censura*, limitation of tenure was defined by their specific commission, abdication following its execution. However, with the ambiguity that marks many of his views, Mommsen on the other hand asserts that «Daneben aber besteht für den Dictator noch eine doppelte Zeitgrenze, eine absolute, insofern er nicht länger als höchstens sechs Monate, und eine relative, insofern er nicht über die Amtszeit des ihn ernennenden ordentlichen Beamten hinaus fungieren darf.» (II, 160). As regards the nature of the censorial *tempus*, Mommsen also refers to «einer achtzehnmonatlichen Maximalfrist». For Mommsen's quite different (though not wholly clear) view on the *tempora* of the so-called «ausserordentlichen constituirenden Gewalten», cf. also II, 717 n. 3, discussed *infra*.

⁶⁹ (1953) 406: «Essi erano dei termini puramente comminatorii, entro i quali il dittatore e i censori dovevano assolvere i rispettivi incarichi e abdicare, ma la carica cassava pur sempre con l'abdicazione e non con lo spirare dei termini.»; comp. also p. 408: «il termine massimo fissato dalla legge alla durata di queste magistrature non aveva altro scopo se non d'impedire che i loro titolari impiegassero troppo tempo a esaurire quelle incombenze.»

the same was true for the terms of all magistracies that were created outside the regular order of the *magistratus annui*. For this quite diverse category of magistracies with extraordinary or unusual commissions, like, e.g., the dictatorship and the *magisterium equitum*, the *censura*, the *IIIuiri mensarii*, the *III/XXuiri agris dandis adsignandis* or *coloniae deducendae*, the *IIuiri aedi dedicandae/locandae* and the *IIuiri classis ornandae reficiendaeque*, the procedure of *abdicare se magistratu* was (apart from, of course, the occupant's decease) the only possible means to end⁷⁰. It is, however, most important to reiterate that under normal circumstances, *continuatio* of these magistracies was highly unlikely, regardless of this remarkable common feature. First, customary law obliged the occupant to abdicate his magistracy immediately upon execution of his chief and only task. This rule applied even when customary or statute law provided for a well-defined deadline. Second, the explicit definition of a maximum term for its fulfilment necessarily implied the threat of criminal prosecution in the event of continuation past the absolute deadline without proper authorization or a generally accepted *ratio publica*⁷¹. In the highly unusual event that such magistrates sincerely felt that their comminatory *tempus legitimum* did not suffice for them to complete their set tasks, they could always venture to ask Senate or People to prolong it. That much is clear from Livy XLV 15.9, where it is recorded that when the censors C. Claudius Pulcher (*cos.* 177) and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (*cos.* 177, *II* 163) in 168 «asked that their term of

⁷⁰ COLI (1953) 397-412. Although Coli (p. 411-412) insists «che la distinzione fra magistrature permanenti e non permanenti non coincide con la distinzione fra magistrature ordinarie o straordinarie», it is important to ascertain that all non-annual magistracies alike could only end by means of formal abdication on the part of the occupant, and that the so-called extraordinary magistracies always belonged to the category of the non-annual magistracies.

⁷¹ Cf. *infra* for the fact that arbitrary *continuatio* past the completion of the set task or, worse, past the comminatory *tempus*, was a highly contentious issue and would inexorably trigger action on the part of the tribunes of the *plebs*. In sharp contrast to Coli's trenchant analysis, LACEY (1977) 35 suggests that the debate on the terminal date of the triumvirate *r.p.c.* «is a complete waste of time, because though magistracies always had a terminal date attached to them, they did not terminate until the magistrate had been succeeded or brought his *imperium* formally to an end.» This observation is quite indicative of the poor knowledge of Roman public institutions as well as the blatant underestimation of just how much issues of legality and legitimacy mattered to the Romans that hampers much modern scholarship in Roman history. To quote just one quite different, yet telling, example to illustrate this: in *Ant.* 31.3, Plutarch records that when Octavia was married to M. Antonius in October 40, although the law did not permit a woman to marry before her husband had been dead ten months, the Senate passed a decree remitting the restriction in time.

a year and a half be prolonged in order that they might, as was customary, see to repairs to buildings and inspect the public works for which they had contracted, the request was vetoed by the tribune Gnaeus Tremellius, because he had not been enrolled in the Senate»:

Potentibus ut ex instituto ad sarta tecta exigenda et ad opera quae locassent probanda anni et sex mensum tempus prorogaretur, Cn. Tremellius tribunus, quia lectus non erat in senatum, intercessit⁷².

As regards what he styled «Die ausserordentlichen constituirenden Gewalten», Th. Mommsen had indeed already argued that, by way of exception, these could not cease to exist without the voluntary act of abdication, and that even terms of office as possibly defined in the constitutive laws were not legally binding. According to Mommsen this unique exception to the otherwise ‘extinguishing effect’ of fixed *tempora* was created because it made no sense to impose such coercive terms on magistracies with wide constitutive powers whose tenure was defined by the completion of their tasks and that by definition were ‘above the constitution’⁷³. Although Mommsen wrongly believes this special circumstance to be unique to magistracies ‘*rei publicae constituendae*’, and is equally mistaken to claim that such offices stood «über der Verfassung»⁷⁴, he rightly explains that, «Bei dem Triumvirat des J. 711 [43 BCE] endlich sind von dem theoretischen Satz, dass bei constituirenden Gewalten die Zeitgrenze ohne rechtsverbindliche Kraft sei, die schlagendsten und wichtigsten Anwendungen gemacht worden.» Mommsen explains that the triumvirs simply stayed in office after the

⁷² It is at any rate most important to distinguish this request for the Senate to prolong the comminatory term of the censors and so authorize them to continue their censorship past the statutory deadline, for voluntary abdication is completely different from the customary procedure of *prorogatio imperii* which authorized the annual magistrates to retain their *imperium*, not their magistracy, after the expiry of their office, with the same or altered responsibilities.

⁷³ MOMMSEN (1887) II, 714 & 716-717. In n. 3 of p. 717, Mommsen clarifies that «Dies gilt sowohl von den constituirenden Magistraten...wie von den älteren Dictatur und der Censur. Aber für die letzteren Aemter steht eine absolute Maximalfrist daneben, während diese bei den constituirenden Gewalten entweder ganz fehlt oder doch nicht rechtlich bindend ist.»

⁷⁴ COLI (1953) conclusively demonstrates that what Mommsen considers an unparalleled feature of magistracies ‘(*r.p.*) *constituendae causa*’, viz. the fact that they could only be terminated by virtue of formal abdication on the part of the occupant, applied to all non-annual magistracies alike. Whereas Coli (p. 406) labels these magistracies as «le magistrature non permanenti», it seems better to distinguish simply between the annual and non-annual magistracies of the Roman People.

expiry of their first term on 31 December 38, and that when they agreed on 31 December 33 as a new terminal date, «so geschah dies doch weder rechtzeitig noch setzten sie desswegen das willige Werkzeug der Comitien in Bewegung, dessen sie in der That rechtlich nicht bedurften.» Mommsen subsequently engages in some quite interesting and inspiring speculation. First, he points out that M. Antonius apparently never acknowledged the iteration as he consistently continued to style himself merely as triumvir *r.p.c.*, as well during the second *quinquennium* as until his death well after its expiry⁷⁵. As regards Caesar Octavianus, Mommsen next considers the possibility that if he did not abdicate on 31 December 33, he continued as triumvir until 13 January 27⁷⁶. On the matter of the temporal limitations of the triumvirate *r.p.c.*, Coli, too, indicates that the very fact that the triumvirs stayed in office past 31 December 38 shows that the triumphal *quinquennium* was a comminatory term. Concerning the question of the second triumphal *quinquennium*, Coli also points out that M. Antonius considered himself a triumvir until his death in 30 and cautiously suggests that Octavianus, had he not already abdicated at the end of 32, did so only in January 27. Therefore, Coli rightly concludes that,

«Comunque è positivo che nè il primo nè il secondo termine avevano efficacia estintiva di pien diritto e che la magistratura triumvirale poteva cessare solamente con l'abdicazione dei suoi titolari.»⁷⁷

To summarize this discussion of Coli's and Mommsen's trail-blazing work on the official *tempora* of the non-annual magistracies and the

⁷⁵ In n. 5 of p. 718, MOMMSEN points out that «Dass Antonius sich noch als *cos. III*, also im J. 723 [31], *Illuir r.p.c.* nannte, zeigt die Münze des D. Turillius. Auch die Legionsmünzen des Antonius, die unzweifelhaft seiner letzten Zeit angehören, haben nur diesen Titel.

⁷⁶ MOMMSEN (1887) II, 718-720. Cf. *infra* for a full discussion of Mommsen's highly interesting reflections on Caesar Octavianus' official position from 1 January 32 to 13 January 27. *Contra* Mommsen, BRINGMANN (1988) 22-38, reasserts the view that the triumphal *quinquennia* were legally binding and that the triumvirate inevitably lapsed on 31 December 33. Bringmann's view is followed by, amongst others, GIRARDET (1990a) 325 («Enddatum...strikt rechtsverbindlich») & (1995) 149 & n. 15.

⁷⁷ COLI (1953) 406 & 415. If Octavianus had indeed abdicated the triumvirate in December 32, Coli suggests that he definitely continued to wield the *triumviralis potestas* until January 27. Coli (p. 413 & 415) rightly explains that whereas the triumvirate *r.p.c.* and Sulla's dictatorship both belonged to the category of magistracies that could only cease to exist by virtue of abdication, the latter office simply lacked a fixed, comminatory term for completion of its specific task. For a discussion of this and all other constitutional aspects of Sulla's unprecedented dictatorship, see VERVAET (2004).

magistracies with constitutive powers successively: as an extraordinary, non-annual magistracy, the triumvirate *r.p.c.* could officially only end by virtue of voluntary abdication, the occupant's decease or, lastly, formal abrogation, regardless of the statutory definition of two more or less subsequent five-year terms⁷⁸.

It is only against the background of this proper assessment of the precise nature the triumviral *tempus* that a series of otherwise odd or even puzzling passages in the sources become perfectly comprehensible. A first and powerful example concerns both timing and content of L. Antonius' above-mentioned actions and speeches. L. Antonius repeatedly called to mind that the destruction of Cassius and Brutus had been the main cause for the creation of an unprecedented, plenipotentiary magistracy and the temporary suspension of the traditional balance of power. After Philippi, he insisted, there was no further reason for the triumvirate to exist, especially since what at first was an instrument for restoring order in the Republic now, paradoxically, became a source of

⁷⁸ For the abrupt and hapless end of Lepidus' tenure in 36, see Dio XLIX 12.4 (τῆς τε ἐξουσίας πάσης παρελύθη) & L 1.3 (ὅτι τὸν τε Λέπιδον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπεπαύκει); App., *B.C.* V 126; Livy, *Per.* 129 (*abrogato triumvirates honore*) & Plut., *Ant.* 55.1 (τὸν συνάρχοντα Λέπιδον ἐκβαλὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ποιήσας ἄτιμον) & 2 (Καίσαρ ἀπελογεῖτο Λέπιδον μὲν ὑβρίζοντα καταπαῦσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς). All sources invariably suggest that Octavianus personally abrogated Lepidus' *imperium*. This he could by virtue of his triumviral prerogative to issue edicts with the force of law (cf. infra n. 118) and failing a formal veto on the part of the latter or M. Antonius. If so, it is quite possible that Octavianus subsequently had the Comitia ratify his decision in order to enhance its legitimacy — cf. Dio L 20.3, where M. Antonius in 31 complains that «they have removed from his entire command Lepidus himself, who was guilty of no wrong and furthermore had been their ally»: ὁπότε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Λέπιδον, μήτε τι ἀδικήσαντα καὶ προσέτι καὶ συμμαχήσαντα αὐτοῖς, τῆς τε ἡγεμονίας ἀπάσης παραλέλυκασι (comp. also App., *B.C.* V 134 for Antonius allegedly making a similar complaint as early as 35). Nonetheless, the possibility that Lepidus' tenure of the triumvirate was ended by 'involuntary voluntary abdication' by order of Caesar Octavianus cannot be ruled out altogether. Badian's argument in (1991) 7-13 that Lepidus was degraded to the rank of *legatus* of Octavianus at Tarentum in 37 is plainly contradicted by Dio XLIX 8.3 & 11.2-3, where Lepidus is said to have taken serious offence at Octavianus' refusal to acknowledge his rights as a triumvir in Sicily in 36, instead treating him in every respect as his subordinate. Besides, Badian's suggestion is based on the wrong assumption that the triumvirate had formally lapsed after 31 December 38 (cf. p. 8 n. 8: «During...the first half of the year...the Triumvirs lacked formal standing») and does not allow for the special nature of the triumvirate *r.p.c.* as a magistracy that could only be terminated through abdication, abrogation or death. For *SPQR* depriving M. Antonius of all his official authority in 32, see Dio L 4.3. Coli apparently overlooked statutory abrogation as an 'exogenous' means to terminate an extraordinary magistracy.

fear and continued armed strife⁷⁹. Therefore, Lucius claimed, he as consul had demanded the restitution of consular supremacy and the traditional polity, something which could, of course, only be realized through the triumvirs' formal abdication. Antonius also twice indicated that he had even hoped (or wished) for his brother to return to Rome and make this dream come true during his own consular tenure by voluntarily abdicating his triumvirate, blaming Octavianus for not having induced this return to normality by abdicating first and on his own initiative. As there were still almost three years left of the (first) quinquennial *tempus* at the time of L. Antonius' struggles, his argument becomes perfectly intelligible only if one fully considers the specific nature of the triumviral *tempus* and that of all non-annual magistracies alike, regardless of the fact that the triumviral term, too, continued to run out. If the triumvirate and its term had the qualities and characteristics of, for example, the consulship and its *tempus*, both the tenor and the timing of Lucius' contentions would be quite nonsensical indeed. That Lucius had a very strong case in this matter is also clear from Caesar Octavianus' conspicuously short reply, in which he simply confined himself to the evasive assertion that «it is not necessary that I should discuss the false accusations that you have brought against me with so much art»⁸⁰.

⁷⁹ In their infamous proscription edict of late November 43, the triumvirs themselves had emphasized that while the chief part of their official commission «has been finished by us or is well under control, namely the settlement of Spain and Gaul as well as matters here in Italy, one task still remains, and that is to march against Caesar's assassins beyond the sea» — App., *B.C.* IV 9. For the triumvirate as a source of terror and an object of popular hatred, see esp. App., *B.C.* V 68.

⁸⁰ App., *B.C.* V 45. After having summarized Octavianus' formal reply, Appian (*loc. cit.*) expressly indicates that he has paraphrased Lucius' and Octavianus' speeches from Latin memoirs, taking great pains to preserve the original meaning to the best of his abilities: ταῦτα μὲν ἔλεχαν ἀλλήλοισι ὥς ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἦν ἐς τὸ δυνατόν τῆσδε τῆς φωνῆς μεταβαλεῖν τεκμαιρομένῳ τῆς γνώμης τῶν λελεγμένων — «these things they said to each other, as nearly as it is possible to gather the meaning of the speakers from the memoirs and translate it into our language.» Despite the rather shocking picture of the triumvirate as it appears in Lucius' speeches, POWELL (2009) 180-181 plausibly suggests that Appian extracted these from Augustus' own memoirs (to which he in *Illyr.* 14 refers as one of his sources). Nonetheless, the possibility that Appian's summaries of Lucius' speeches derive from some well-informed hostile tradition cannot be excluded altogether. For the frequent use and circulation of letters, messages and key public speeches as a sort of political pamphlets *avant-la-lettre* in the virulent war of propaganda that so intensely marked the triumviral era, see, e.g., Suet., *Aug.* 69; App., *B.C.* IV 11 (where at the end of his quote of the triumviral proscription edict, Appian expressly indicates that «such was the language of the proscription of the triumvirs as nearly as it can be rendered from Latin into the Hellenic tongue») & V 130 (cf. *infra*); Dio L 1.3-2.1 («and they communicated them

In this respect, it is also well worth quoting Appian's account of some of the troubles preceding the clash between Caesar Octavianus and L. Antonius. In *B.C.* V 14-15, Appian recounts how the consul and Fulvia had more or less forced Octavianus to concede that he would select the officials who would settle M. Antonius' legions in colonies from Marcus' own friends, although the agreement with M. Antonius yielded the selection to Octavianus exclusively. As these men, in a bid to outdo Octavianus in generosity and popularity, allowed the soldiers to have things their way, a great many citizens raised bitter complaints against Octavianus, claiming that the colonization was worse than the proscriptions. Although Octavianus knew perfectly well that many citizens were suffering grievous injustice he was powerless to prevent it for a series of reasons. Sextus Pompeius, Appian relates, threatened to starve Rome by his continuing blockade of Italy; C. Domitius Ahenobarbus (*cos.* 32) and L. Staius Murcus (*pr.* 45) were raising new forces; the soldiers would be less zealous in the future if they were not paid for their former services, and, Appian goes on to explain,

πολὺ δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ παροδεύειν σφίσιν ἤδη τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς πενταετίαν καὶ χρῆζειν αὐτοῖς εὐνοίας στρατοῦ· διόπερ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ὕβρεως ἡ καταφρονήσεως ἐν τῷ τότε ἐκὼν ὑπερέωρα.

It was a matter of much importance that the five-year term was running out, and that the goodwill of the soldiers was needed to renew it, for which reason he was willing to overlook for the time being their insolence and arrogance.

Since at that point in time more than three full years of the triumviral *quinquennium* remained, this clarification at first sight seems to be quite odd, if not confused. However, in the light of the above reassessment of the triumvirate *r.p.c.* as an extraordinary magistracy created for the sole purpose of dealing with the formidable threat posed by the Caesaricides in the East and given a maximum term of five years to that end, this clarification becomes perfectly comprehensible. Now that the triumvirs' original task had been fulfilled with amazing speed and success, Caesar Octavianus, and, for that matter, his two colleagues, had become completely dependent on the army's unwavering support if they wished to

[i.e., their mutual accusations] to each other partly by private letters and partly by public speeches on the part of Caesar and public messages on the part of Antonius») & Plut., *Ant.* 55. For triumviral documents and letters being carefully retained, copied and distributed as written evidence, see also Dio XLVIII 2.4 & App., *B.C.* V 60. Apart from their intrinsic historical value, many such documents would have survived for educational purposes.

violate the spirit of the law and continue their plenipotentiary offices past completion of their official commission.

The arrangements made at the treaty of Brundisium of September 40, too, can only be seen in their appropriate context in light of the above assessment of the particular nature of the tenure of extraordinary magistracies. In *B.C.* V 65, Appian records that Caesar Octavianus and M. Antonius drastically repartitioned the respective triumviral spheres of power in the provinces. Whereas the former was to rule virtually all of the Roman West, apart from Africa, now transferred to Lepidus, the latter was to govern everything east of Scodra. In addition to this sweeping territorial rearrangement, the two leading triumvirs also redefined the precise scope of their ongoing commission *rei publicae constituendae*: Octavianus was to make war against Sextus Pompeius, unless an agreement could be made, whereas M. Antonius was to avenge Crassus and declare war on the Parthians. Amongst other things, both triumvirs were allowed to freely levy soldiers in Italy in equal numbers. This public redefinition of their collective and individual responsibilities as triumvirs for the constitution of a Republic that, at least officially, continued to be under serious threat from both internal and external enemies legitimized their continuation of the triumvirate after Philippi. It would have made little sense if the triumviral quinquennial tenure simply meant that they could stay in office for five continuous years, regardless of circumstances.

The same applies to Appian's quite minute account of proceedings at Rome after Caesar Octavianus' return triumphant from the war against Sextus Pompeius in November 36. In *B.C.* V 130, Appian relates that, after *SPQR* had showered him with extraordinary honours, Caesar Octavianus made speeches to both Senate and People recounting his exploits and, in a move to legitimize his acts so far, his policy from the beginning to the present time⁸¹. In order to fully exploit the occasion, Caesar had

⁸¹ As Dio XLIX 15.3 clarifies that Octavianus made these speeches «according to ancient custom outside the *pomerium*» (ἔξω τοῦ πομηνρίου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια), it is not exaggerated to state that his solemn return to Rome in 36 marked the beginning of the political strategy that would become the hallmark of the new Augustan regime, viz. a clever combination of showy respect for the traditional institutions and a consistent attempt to obfuscate his extraordinary powers by giving them a Republican appearance or pushing them into the background. Just one other striking example of this new traditionalist policy was his firm refusal to accept Lepidus' priesthood in spite of strong popular pressure since it was illegal to take the office away from a living man: App., *B.C.* V 131 & Dio XLIX 15.3. Compare also MILLAR (2000) 7-8: «At the level of political structures

these orations written down and published in pamphlet form. In these speeches, he solemnly proclaimed peace and good-will, said that the civil wars were over, remitted the unpaid taxes, and magnanimously released the farmers of the revenue and the holders of public leases from what they owed⁸². Amongst the honours he accepted was a golden image to be placed on a column in the forum, bearing the powerful inscription: «PEACE LONG DISRUPTED BY CIVIL WAR HE RESTORED ON LAND AND SEA.»⁸³ After taking resolute action to restore runaway slaves all across his power sphere and extirpate banditry in Italy, he reportedly took another series of sensational actions, as Appian records in *B.C.* V 132 that,

πολλὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἐφίει τοῖς ἐτησίοις ἄρχουσι διοικεῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, καὶ γραμματεῖα, ὅσα τῆς στάσεως σύμβολα, ἔκαιε, καὶ τὴν ἐντελῆ πολιτείαν ἔλεγεν ἀποδῶσειν, εἰ παραγένοιτο ἐκ Παρθυαίων Ἀντώνιος· πείθεσθαι γὰρ κἀκείνον ἐθέλειν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, τῶν ἐμφυλίων καταπεπαυμένων.

He allowed the annual magistrates to administer public affairs in many respects in accordance with ancestral custom. He burned the writings which contained evidence concerning the civil strife, and said that he would restore the polity entirely when Antonius should return from the Parthian war, for he was persuaded that he, too, would be willing to lay down his office, the civil wars being at an end.

In other words, Caesar Octavianus first decided to cease exercising his overriding authority in certain, well-defined spheres of civil administration. By doing so, he partially met the demands made by L. Antonius some five years before. Second, and most importantly, he publicly recognized that the time had now (almost) come for the two remaining

and political ideology, it could be suggested that the evolution towards the 'Augustan principate' took place in three stages. The first was the period from Emperor Caesar's return from Naucluchus in the Autumn of 36 BC to his departure for the campaign of Actium. These years saw, in Rome, the co-existence of an individual ruler, 'Imperator Caesar Divi filius', with Senate and People. It was symbolic of that co-existence that his first step on return was to make a speech reporting on the military situation to the People meeting outside the *pomerium*.»

⁸² Comp. Dio XLIX 15.3. After having deposed Lepidus and taken over his army, Caesar Octavianus had already proclaimed the end of the civil wars before the army in Sicily: App., *B.C.* V 128.

⁸³ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐστασιασμένην ἐκ πολλοῦ συνέστησε κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν. For the honours voted immediately upon the news of Caesar's victory, comp. also Dio XLIX 15.1-2. Amongst the honours Octavianus also accepted were the ovation that had been decreed to him and a perpetual supplication (dinner) in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus on the anniversary of the day on which he had won his victory over Sextus Pompeius.

triumvirs to abdicate their magistracy since its chief and original commission, ending the civil war and so restore the Republic, had now been executed. The only remaining obstacle was Antonius' successful completion of his additional assignment of 40, viz. putting an end to the Parthian threat at Rome's eastern frontier⁸⁴. Once Antonius had accomplished this mission, he would doubtlessly return to Rome and both men could jointly abdicate their triumvirate⁸⁵. However empty these words would eventually prove to be, this pompous promise only makes sense if one properly understands the specific nature of the triumvirate as an extraordinary magistracy created to handle a specific task and thereto given a comminatory maximum term. If not, its timing and content would have been utterly absurd given the triumvirs' discretionary decision to extend their tenure by another five years in 37⁸⁶. This remarkable shift in policy from the autumn of 36 can best be understood in terms of the specific nature of the triumvirate *r.p.c.* and its *tempus legitimum*. Since his victory over Sextus Pompeius had officially ended the age of civil war and so removed the last credible ration-

⁸⁴ In order to compensate him for the imminent loss of his plenipotentiary magistracy, Senate and People subsequently invested him for life with tribunician *sacrosanctitas*, symbolized by the privilege of sitting upon the same benches with the tribunes: Dio XLIX 15.5-6 & App., *B.C.* V 132. As this measure would offer him some protection if he were to become a private citizen again, it should come as no surprise that Caesar Octavianus gladly accepted it. Although Appian's claim that Octavianus was invested with the lifelong office of tribune of the *plebs* itself is mistaken, he does indicate that the public expressly urged Octavianus to abdicate his triumvirate in return for this exceptional and lifelong privilege.

⁸⁵ See App., *B.C.* V 128 for the fact that right after his victories over Sextus Pompeius and Lepidus in Sicily, Octavianus had told the army that now the civil wars had been concluded, only the Illyrians and other barbarian tribes were left to disturb «the peace which had been gained with some much difficulty», holding up the prospect of great gains to them. By this clever and anticipatory move, he at the same time provided himself with a new rationale for *continuatio* as triumvir.

⁸⁶ As is clear from the accounts of Appian and Dio, Caesar Octavianus' noble declarations did not prevent him or M. Antonius from continuing to run the Republic in autocratic fashion, by virtue of their wide triumviral powers. In *B.C.* V 132, Appian tells us that at the very time of this boastful promise, Octavianus wrote privately to Antonius who instructed Bibulus to confer with Octavianus, obviously to discuss an appropriate and mutually advantageous strategy to prolong their tenure of the triumvirate. Appian further adds that Antonius also sent governors to take charge of his provinces in like manner as Octavianus had done. Dio relates in XLIX 16.1 that Octavianus, for his part, on his own authority enrolled Valerius Messalla among the augurs, above the proper number; granted citizenship to the citizens of Utica; forbade anyone but senatorial magistrates to wear the purple dress; and delegated the administration of Rome and Italy to C. Maecenas, his equestrian confederate.

ale for its existence⁸⁷, ostentatious traditionalism was the best possible means for Caesar Octavianus to avoid or mitigate pressures to abdicate and carry on without too many awkward questions asked⁸⁸.

The particular nature of the *triumviratus r.p.c.* as a magistracy meant to cease through voluntary abdication of its occupants upon completion of its specific commission also puts M. Antonius' boastful declarations of 34 and 32, made well before the expiry of the second triumviral *quin-quennium*, in the right perspective. In XLIX 41.6, Dio Cassius relates that in 34, on the occasion of his Armenian victory, Antonius made a rather remarkable attempt to discredit Octavianus:

τοιαῦτα δ' οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος πράττων ἐτόλμα τῇ βουλῇ γράφειν ὅτι τῆς τε ἀρχῆς παύσασθαι καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τῷ τε δήμῳ πάντα τὰ πράγματα ποιήσασθαι ἐθέλει, οὐχ ὅτι τι καὶ πράχειν αὐτῶν ἐμελλεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ταῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐλπίσι τὸν Καίσαρα ἦτοι ἀναγκάσωσιν, ἅτε καὶ παρόντα, τῶν ὅπλων προαποστήναι, ἣ καὶ ἀπειθήσαντα μισήσωσι.

Now while Antony was engaged as described he had the effrontery to write to the Senate that he wished to give up his office and put the whole administration of the state into the hands of that body and of the People; it was not his intention, of course, to do either, but he desired them under the influence of the hopes he aroused either to compel Caesar to give up his arms first, as being there at hand, or to conceive hatred of him if he should refuse to heed their commands⁸⁹.

⁸⁷ Cf. supra for the fact that this was what Caesar Octavianus himself had claimed upon his triumphant return to Rome in 36. In this respect, it is important to point out that officially, the Actian war was waged against a foreign enemy, Egypt, and any Roman citizens who decided to assist the Egyptians (cf. infra).

⁸⁸ Unlike M. Antonius, Octavianus operated from Rome and Italy after the demise of Sextus. He therefore had to deal with aristocratic opinions and expectations in a far more careful way. Compare ERMATINGER (1993) 110, who speculates that «The possible reasons for Octavian's policy of not placing the title of triumvir on his coins were: to dissociate himself from Antony who continued to style himself as such; to remove himself from his bloody history as triumvir; to make full use of his adoption by Caesar as son and therefore heir; and finally, Antony was in the East away from the seat of power and could not challenge Octavian's propaganda. On attitudes in municipal Italy and Octavianus and the old *nobilitas*, see SYME (1939) 238-242 and 284-291.

⁸⁹ Although Dio indicates in XLIX 41.4-6 that (early in 32) either the consuls Domitius and Sosius or Caesar Octavianus himself prevented Antonius' various dispatches concerning his vast rearrangement of the East and the vanquished Armenian king to be read in public, each of them for their own purposes, it is clear from XLIX 41.6 (comp. also XLIX 40-41.3; the combination of XLIX 38.2; 42.1 & 43.1 also shows that Antonius communicated this promise to the Senate in 34) that his proposal to abdicate was read out in the Senate in the immediate aftermath of his achievements and Alexandrian triumph of 34. Although RODDAZ (2003) 407 rightly observes that «il s'agissait, de toute

By announcing his willingness to abdicate the triumvirate, Marcus Antonius publicly suggested that his mission was accomplished, both triumvirs had now executed their (redefined) commissions, and that it consequently was about time for them to abdicate, regardless of the fact that the second *quinquennium* would not lapse before 31 December 32. According to Dio, Antonius vainly hoped that his message would prompt the Senate formally to request Caesar to abdicate first simply because he happened to be on the spot in Rome. Should the latter refuse, he would automatically incur the hatred of the Romans as being responsible for continuing triumviral, i.e., despotical, rule as Antonius' implicitly suggested that he would not abdicate before Octavianus had done so first. In this respect, Antonius' rather obvious strategy is quite similar to that followed by his brother in 41/40. Although Dio's account creates the impression that Antonius' gesture of 34 was quite random and merely aimed at destabilizing Octavianus' position in Rome, his declaration of intent was perfectly in keeping with what the latter himself had publicly announced in Rome in the immediate aftermath of Naulochus. Some two years earlier, Caesar Octavianus had indeed pledged that «he would restore the polity entirely when Antonius should return from the Parthian war, for he was persuaded that he, too, would be willing to lay down his office, the civil wars being at an end.»⁹⁰ As M. Antonius now officially pretended to have conquered Parthia⁹¹, he proclaimed his final triumviral assignment to have been fulfilled and expressed his wish to abdicate his triumvirate, obviously in a clever move to remind public opinion in Rome of Octavianus' own promise and so pressure him to suit the action to the word. Unsurprisingly, Octavianus would simply retort by insisting that M. Antonius return to Rome so they could jointly lay down their office⁹².

In L 7.1-2, Dio relates that after *SPQR* in Rome had deprived him from all his future and current authority and passed a vote of war against Cleopatra in January 32, M. Antonius swore to his own soldiers that,

ἀκηρυκτὶ πολεμήσειν, τοῦτο δὲ ὑπέσχετο τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἐντὸς
 δύο μηνῶν μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἀφήσειν καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτῆς κράτος τῇ
 τε γερούσια καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἀποδώσειν. μόλις τε δῆθ' ἐν τινεσ

evidence, d'une manœuvre visant à mettre en difficulté son collègue, plus exposé que lui parce qu'il était alors à Rome», he then wrongly adds that «et qu'il se serait trouvé sans aucune *potestas* pour l'année suivante avec deux consuls, partisans de son rival.»

⁹⁰ App., *B.C.* V 132, cf. supra.

⁹¹ See, esp., Dio XLIX 41.3 (comp. also XLIX 32.1-2).

⁹² See Livy, *Per.* 132, infra, p. 113.

ἔπεισαν αὐτὸν ἔκτω μηνὶ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἵνα δὴ κατὰ σχολὴν τὰ πράγματα καταστήσῃται.

he would admit no truce in the war he waged, and promised in addition that within two months after his victory he would relinquish his office and restore to the Senate and the People all its authority; and it was with difficulty, forsooth, that certain persons prevailed upon him to postpone this act to the sixth month, so that he might be able to settle the public business at leisure.

This boastful promise clearly implies the expectation that the war would force him to continue his triumvirate past the expiry of the second *quinquennium* on 31 December 32. Both his vow and its rationale are in perfect keeping with the above analysis of the nature of the triumvirate *r.p.c.* as an extraordinary magistracy, created to execute a specific task with an indicative, comminatory term that could only be terminated by means of voluntary abdication. Antonius here declares that as long as his chief task as triumvir, the restoration of law and order in the Republic, was not fully completed, he would stay in office, regardless of the expiry of the second triumviral term. Only after having properly reconstituted the Republic during the first post-war semester would he fully restore the traditional supremacy of *SPQR* in state affairs by formally abdicating his triumvirate.

Conversely, however, Livy *Per.* 132 shows that, for his part, Caesar Octavianus maintained that it was M. Antonius who was unwilling to abdicate, be it either in Rome before the expiry of the second *quinquennium* or shortly thereafter in Alexandria; instead, he prepared for war on Rome and Italy, the heartland, and all this because of his scandalous and nefarious infatuation with Cleopatra:

Cum M. Antonius ob amorem Cleopatrae, ex qua duos filios habebat, Philadelphum et Alexandrum, neque in urbem uenire uellet neque finito Huiratus tempore imperium deponere bellumque moliretur, quod urbi et Italiae inferret, ingentibus tam naualibus quam terrestribus copiis ob hoc contractis remissoque Octaviae sorori Caesaris repudio, Caesar in Epirum cum exercitu traiecit.

Because of his passion for Cleopatra, by whom he had two sons, Philadelphus and Alexander, Marcus Antonius was unwilling to return to Rome or to lay down his *imperium* when the term of the triumvirate had ended; he organized a campaign of invasion against Rome and Italy, and gathered huge forces on sea as well as on land for this purpose, and sent a notice of divorce to Octavia, Caesar's sister. Caesar crossed over with an army to Epirus⁹³.

⁹³ This summary echoes Augustan, anti-Antonian propaganda.

4. JANUARY 31 TO JANUARY 27: CAESAR'S PUBLICLY SECRET *CONTINUATIO*

After having acknowledged the undeniable fact that M. Antonius openly continued as triumvir until his suicide in 30, and commenting that «Er zog also ... aus seinem formalen Recht die letzte Consequenz und betrachtete die ihm verliehene Ausnahmestellung als nicht betagt», Th. Mommsen goes on to make the intriguing observation that,

«Weniger folgerichtig und mit grösserer Deferenz gegen die souveräne Volksgewalt hat Caesar den erneuerten Triumvirat als den zweiten gezählt und wenigstens in späterer Zeit denselben betrachtet als erloschen mit dem 31. December 721 [33 BCE]. Aber eine constituierende Gewalt hat auch er noch über jenen Termin hinaus sich beigelegt, da er nicht bloss auch nachher noch die wichtigsten magistratischen Geschäfte fortdauernd vollzogen hat, sondern auch, nach seiner eigenen feierlichen Erklärung, die constituierende Gewalt erst am 13. Januar 727 an Senat und Volk zurückgab.»

In other words, Mommsen here suggests that, at least in later times, Augustus considered 31 December 33 as the closure of his second *quinquennium*, but that he had not put down his constitutive triumviral powers before 13 January 27. In an explicatory footnote, Mommsen points out that in *Res Gestae* 7.1, Augustus himself set the duration of his triumvirate to ten consecutive years, and asserts that he therefore qualified himself as «*per consensum uniuersorum [potitus rerum omn]ium*» (sic) for 32. This can only mean that he appealed to «das Nothstandscommando» (i.e., the state of emergency following the declaration of war against Egypt at the outset of 32), the only remaining option if one considered the triumvirate as expired. «Aber so begreiflich es ist,» Mommsen adds, «dass Augustus späterhin das Verhältniss also gefasst zu sehen wünschte, so führen doch die Spuren nicht dahin.» Mommsen subsequently duly indicates the enormous problem that apart from the triumvirate itself, there is no legal foundation for his continuing tenure of triumviral powers past 33: «denn J. 722 [32 BCE] war Caesar, wenn nicht Triumvir, ein blosser Privater und nachher zwar Consul, aber doch nicht als solcher im Besitz der constituierenden Gewalt.» Ultimately, Mommsen suggests, we are left with two possibilities as regards the position of Caesar Octavianus during the decisive years 32-27. Either he bluntly arrogated the right to constitute the Republic without any formal legal basis or he retained his triumvirate until 27. In the latter case, he later obscured the true course of events by creating the fiction of an

abdication at the originally specified time. Mommsen subsequently explains that the second option would better fit the character of the Roman state and be historically more plausible. He explains that had Caesar Octavianus really laid down his extraordinary commission at 31 December 32, whilst Antonius continued to retain his, the sources would not have failed to brand the latter as «einseitigen Usurpator». In that case, Antonius' statement of 34 and his bold promise of 32 (supra) would have been inexplicable. Mommsen concludes his argument with the unambiguous statement that,

«Unleugbar ist nicht nur von Antonius, sondern auch von Caesar die dem Triumvirat gesteckte Endfrist in dem Sinne behandelt worden, dass mit dem Eintritt derselben wohl für die Träger die Verpflichtung entstand, ihr Amt abzugeben, aber das Amt selbst nicht mit dem Eintritt der Frist, sondern erst durch die Abgabe von Rechts wegen zu Ende ging.»⁹⁴

Unfortunately, Mommsen's interesting line of reasoning did not find wide acceptance, possibly because his overall treatment of Octavianus' official position from 1 January 32 to 13 January 27 lacks clarity and, especially, consistency⁹⁵. In the first volume of the third edition of his monumental *Römisches Staatsrecht*, for example, Mommsen seems to leave open the possibility that Caesar Octavianus may have ceased to exercise his triumvirate and became a private citizen from 1 January 32, drawing all his authority from the «Nothstandscommando» he was given at the outbreak of war with Egypt. In his *Res Gestae*, Mommsen suggests, he later inflated these emergency powers to fictitious proportions and represented them as having been conferred upon him *per consensum uniuersorum* (R.G. 34.1)⁹⁶. In part two of the second volume, in the same vein of relative indistinctness, Mommsen attempts to reconcile both views, viz. continuation of his extraordinary powers either by retaining his triumvirate (or, at the very least, its constitutive powers) past the second triumviral *quinquennium*, or by virtue of a plenipotentiary 'emergency command' by universal acclaim: «Am 13. Januar des Jahres 727

⁹⁴ MOMMSEN (1887) II, 718-720 (with special reference to n. 1 of p. 719). In n. 2 of p. 720, Mommsen adds that «Um die Niederlegung des Imperiums dreht sich der ganze letzte Abschnitt des Bürgerkrieges, wie er denn auch in dem Act des 13. Jan. 727 [i.e., 13 January 27] seinen Abschluss findet. Aus dem Nothstandscommando konnte diese Controverse sich nicht entwickeln.»

⁹⁵ *Per litteras*, Professor Rich defines Mommsen's treatment of this question as «very tentative».

⁹⁶ (1887) I, 696-697.

d. St., 27 v.Chr. schloss Caesar der Sohn die von ihm kraft seiner constituirender Gewalt aus eigener Machtvollkommenheit durchgeführte Reorganisation des Staates damit ab, dass er...die auf Grund der constituirenden Gewalt getroffenen der Verfassung widerstrebenden Einrichtungen mit dem J. 726 [28] ausser Kraft setzte und diese Gewalt selbst an Senat und Volk zurückgab». In an explicatory footnote, Mommsen goes on to explain,

«Dass Caesar die ihm als *triumvir rei publicae constituendae* gesetzlich verliehene Gewalt bis dahin fortgeführt und nicht etwa mit dem Ablauf des zweiten Quinquennium aufgehört hatte Triumvir zu sein, ist früher (S. 718) ausgeführt worden. Er selber freilich formulirte späterhin wenigstens seine exceptionelle Gewalt vielmehr als ein Nothstandscommando höchster Steigerung, hervorgerufen durch den einmütigen Willen des Volkes (1, 696). Im Ergebnis würde letztere Auffassung insofern auf dasselbe hinaus kommen, als dann in das Nothstandscommando ebenfalls die constituirende Gewalt gelegt werden muss, die allerdings seinem Wesen widerstreitet.»⁹⁷

P. Grenade, one of the few scholars to elaborate on Mommsen's cautious supposition, more decidedly argued that the very hope (expressed at Puteoli in 39, *supra*) that Antonius and Octavianus would return the Republic to the People as consuls *III* in 33⁹⁸ indicates that «rien ne contraignait les triumvirs à le faire, qu'ils n'y étaient tenus que par la morale et qu'ils pouvaient légitimement poursuivre leur mission au delà du terme fixé à leur deuxième *quinquennium*.» Grenade points out that the triumvirs had continued to exercise their powers after the expiry of the first *quinquennium*, and that if Octavianus «en 32 et dans les années qui suivirent...s'est abstenu de les déposer par un act officiel, c'est qu'il se considère toujours comme légalement investi.» Grenade subsequently takes Mommsen's speculative reasoning to its logical conclusion:

«Les pouvoirs qu'il a déposés en janvier 27 sont les pouvoirs conservés depuis 32 en vertu d'une fiction juridique par laquelle les *III virs*...étaient en droit d'en prolonger l'exercice sans limite de temps, tant qu'ils n'avaient pas mené à bien la mission d'«organiser les pouvoirs public, mission impartie dans la loi originaire». Juridiquement le Triumvirat durait tant qu'il n'était pas résigné par son titulaire. Les pouvoirs constituants du *III vir* fournissent la base légale sur laquelle Octave a érigé l'édifice de sa puissance jusqu'en janvier 27.»⁹⁹

⁹⁷ (1887) II, 746-747, with special reference to n. 1 of p. 745.

⁹⁸ Not, as GRENADE believes, in 31.

⁹⁹ GRENADE (1961) 29-30. Grenade concludes his argument by explaining that «Les monnaies d'Antoine où, dédaigneux du Senatus consulte de 32 qui a abrogé ses pouvoirs,

Nowadays, however, the vast majority of scholars believe the triumvirate to have lapsed either on 31 December 33 or on 31 December 32. It should, therefore, come as no surprise that there exists a great variety of divergent theories on Caesar Octavianus' official position until the historic settlement of January 27. For the growing majority of historians who believe the second *quinquennium* to have ended on 31 December 33, the year 32 has inevitably caused serious additional headaches. Some scholars think that Caesar Octavianus heavily relied on the so-called *consensus uniuersorum* (R.G. 34.1), which they wrongly lump together with the military oaths of 32 (R.G. 25.2)¹⁰⁰, to wield discretionary and overriding powers¹⁰¹. In a more laborious attempt to solve the problem,

il se proclame à la fois *cos tert et III uir rpe* confirment la théorie de Mommsen et permettent de rejeter l'argument que l'on tirait parfois de l'incompatibilité du consulat et du triumvirat». BRUNT & MOORE (1970) 48-49, who reject all arguments in favour of Dec. 33 or Dec. 32 as the terminus of the second *quinquennium* as «inconclusive», develop a more or less similar argument which, unfortunately, suffers from inaccuracy and lack of clarity. On the one hand, they assert that it «can be argued that a magistrate did not lay down office until he formally abdicated (as the consuls did each year) and that the triumvirs, who could not be compelled to abdicate, could legally retain their office beyond the time appointed by the statute under which they received it. Did Octavian then retain the triumvirate after the expiry of the second term? It is certain that he ceased to call himself triumvir, but he is not known to have abdicated, and it would have been at least uncertain whether he did not still possess the power. Since Lepidus had been deposed and Antony was in arms against the Republic, the name of triumvir was inapposite, and that may help to explain why Octavian did not parade the title, though still exercising the authority. Until 28/7 he remained by his own admission in absolute control of the state and superior to his colleagues in the consulship in 31-29; and this fact can be explained by the supposition that he remained triumvir in fact though not in name, right down to the great abdication in January 27 [...] If this view is correct, then Octavian was really triumvir for fifteen years, not ten; and his own statement here [R.G. 7.1], relating simply to the period in which he held the office in accordance with statutes, is highly misleading. But it is the kind of misleading assertion he was capable of making, as it was in one sense true.» In my opinion, the distinction between statutory and *de facto* tenure of a magistracy is both confusing and incorrect: one either was a magistrate or not. Compare also BRUNT & MOORE (1970) 76 for their ultimately remaining undecided as to the question by what right Caesar Octavianus had been *potens rerum omnium* after his decisive victories of 31 and 30.

¹⁰⁰ As regards the specific nature of the so-called *coniuratio Italiae*, LINDERSKI (1984) 74-80 (comp. also MOMMSEN [1887] I, 696-697) conclusively argues that it concerned a kind of military muster in response to an emergency (*tumultus*). At any rate, LEWIS (1991) 59 n. 12 is right to observe that this «might perhaps be true, but it fails to show either that Octavian lacked *imperium* at the time or that the oath conferred it.»

¹⁰¹ See, for example, MOMMSEN (1887) I, 696 & n. 3 (cf. supra), where he indiscriminately links the *per consensum uniuersorum* [*potens re[ru]m om[ni]um*] of R.G. 34.1 (cf. supra n. 2 for a full quote) to «das Nothstandscommando», the state of emergency caused by the declaration of war in 32; and RICH & WILLIAMS (1999) 188: «The triumvirate, belatedly renewed in 37, expired at the end of 33. Octavian, however, continued to exercise extensive powers, and his defeat of Antony in 31-30 made him sole ruler of the Roman world. From 31 he held the consulship continuously, but his power did not rest on

K.M. Girardet argues that Octavianus ceased to be triumvir on 1 January 32 but continued to command his share of the Western provinces (Illyricum, Sardinia-Corsica & Sicilia), the entire Western army and soon also the war against Egypt by virtue of the so-called '*consulare imperium militiae*'. At first he did so *pro magistratu* in 32, «wie Prokonsuln das *imperium consulare* so lange *militiae* ausüben dürfen, bis ihre *prouincia* neuen Imperiumsträgern zugeteilt sind und diese das Kommando angetreten haben, und ihr *imperium* erlischt erst in dem Augenblick, in dem sie das *pomerium* der Hauptstadt überschreiten.» From 31 then, he continued to exercise his — by now dramatically extended — provincial command through his successive consulships. After the first statutory expiry date of 31 December 38, all three of the leaders of the Caesarian faction had already been in a similar position for most part of 37¹⁰².

any formal basis. In the *Res Gestae* (34.1, cited below) he claimed rather to have been in possession of supreme power by universal consent. This consent had received symbolic expression in the oath sworn in 32 by the people of Italy and the western provinces, demanding him as leader in the war which he won at Actium (*RG* 25.2).» In his discussion of *R.G.* 34.1, FERRARY (2003) 419, too, observes that «Auguste admet avoir possédé, au moment où il prit possession de ce sixième consulat, une toute puissance qui n'était pas fondée en droit mais en fait, par une acceptation générale due au fait qu'il avait mis fin aux guerres civiles.» According to Ferrary (p. 420), it was not before January 27 that «il fut désormais légitimement investi par des décisions du sénat et du peuple, redevenus seuls maîtres de leur attribution.» In (1992) 114, however, RICH had harboured the more cautious suspicion «that Mommsen may have been right that the laws conferring the triumvirs' powers were drafted in such a way that, although the powers were for five-year terms, it could be held that they did not immediately lapse when those terms expired.» As regards the recurrent suggestion that the reference to universal consent refers to some new legal conferral of discretionary powers after the expiry of the second *quinquennium*, BRUNT & MOORE (1970) 76 rightly object that «no such grant is recorded in the years from 32 to 28, even by Dio, who loves to dwell on the honours then heaped on Octavian.»

¹⁰² GIRARDET (1990a) 326-332 (37 BCE) & 338-350 (32/31 BCE and beyond) — see p. 338-339 for the quote; comp. also ID. (1990b) 100-104 & (1992) 217. On p. 338 of (1990a), Girardet insists that «Von einer Fortführung der Triumviralgewalt, ob legal oder illegal, kann keine Rede sein». For a similar position concerning the three men's official status in 37, comp. *art. cit.*, p. 330, and (1995) 151: «Die drei Machthaber, die sich beim Ende des ersten Quinquennium sämtlich *extra pomerium* aufhielten, besaßen vollkommen legal in dieser 'Zwischenzeit' *militiae* das *pro magistratu* auszuübende *imperium consulare*; von illegaler bzw. illegaler, aber 'legitimer' Fortführung des Triumvirats o.ä. kann keine Rede sein — also kein 'legitimer' und kein 'illegitimer' Staatsstreich!». Girardet's view is accepted by SCHEID (2007) 38, who consents that «D'un point de vue formel, ce pouvoir était legal.» This line of reasoning was first developed by BENARIO (1975) 306-308, and then again, more or less simultaneously, by BLEICKEN (1990) 65-72 (comp. also ID. [1993] 127-128) and LEWIS (1991) 60-62, who similarly argue that, after the triumvirate had run its legal term, Octavianus retained legitimate *imperium* by virtue of the rule that magistrates *cum imperio* retained their *imperium* past their official tenure if holding a province and only lost it when passing back inside the *pomerium*. Girardet's thesis is

J.-M. Roddaz rightly objects that — among many other problems — this hypothesis requires its adherents to believe that Octavianus did not cross the *pomerium* at all in 32 and necessitates a rather desperate demonstration that all acts of this year in which he played a prominent role actually took place outside the Urbs¹⁰³. Besides, the fact that Octavianus took his seat between the consuls in January 32 unambiguously indicates that he acted as a magistrate at that time, regardless of the actual location of the senatorial meeting¹⁰⁴.

Roddaz himself currently is the chief advocate of the hypothesis that Octavianus simply continued to exercise the *triumviralis potestas* until the arrangements of 28 and 27¹⁰⁵. Although Roddaz, too, believes «La

chiefly based on his erroneous view (1990b) 96-97 (accepted by RODDAZ [2003] 403) that the *consulare imperium* of the triumvirs consisted of two distinct components, viz. the (*consulare*) *imperium domi* and the (*consulare*) *imperium militiae*. Inevitably, GIRARDET (1990a) 347-350 has to speculate that in 32, on the demand of *tota Italia* (R.G. 25.2), Senate and People formally invested Octavianus with «die *prouincia* 'Krieg gegen Kleopatra'», and that, «Ganz sicher sind ihm auch noch — und wieder ohne daß man aus den *Res gestae* Einzelnes erföhre — gewisse Privilegien zuerkannt worden, die seine Rechtsstellung angesichts der 'Bedrohung aus dem Osten' wohl derjenigen annäherten, die er bis 33 v.Chr. als *Illuir* innegehabt hatte», a situation that lasted until the measures of 28/27. For the view that after 33, the consulship was Octavianus' only public office, see also MILLAR (2000) 3: «after the termination of the Triumvirate, at the end of 33, as is now generally agreed, the only official element which distinguished him was the successive consulates, current or prospective, of 31, 30, 29, 28 and 27» & p. 22: in 32, «his only public position was as consul designatus for the third time for 31.»

¹⁰³ RODDAZ (2003) 405-406. Roddaz rightly stresses that Dio L 2.4 strongly suggests that Octavianus had been present in Rome (= *intra urbem*) at the outset of 32. Roddaz (p. 406-407) also demolishes the suggestion that from 31 to 27, Caesar Octavianus exclusively relied on the consulship as his legal power base. In (1992) 114, RICH had already observed that «the notion that the expired triumvirate would degrade into a proconsulate seems unlikely, especially since the triumvirs had been in no hurry to renew their powers when they lapsed in 37 and Antony continued to use the title of triumvir until his death.»

¹⁰⁴ In Dio L 3.4, Dio records that after Octavianus had seized Antonius' will, he carried it into the Senate and later into the assembly (ἐς τε τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' καὶ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν) and read it out loud. Even LEWIS (1991) 62, who tries to explain this passage away as referring to a meeting-place of the Senate and a *contio* outside the *pomerium*, admits that Dio's words «might be taken to mean the Curia and the Forum». To my thinking, there should be no doubt as to the latter interpretation.

¹⁰⁵ Both MOMMSEN and COLI had already suggested that if Octavianus had effectively abdicated his triumvirate at the end of 33 (MommSEN) or 32 (COLI), he simply continued to wield its tremendous powers until 13 January 27 (cf. *supra*). In a somewhat paradoxical assessment of what he — with characteristic disdain for the pettiness of constitutional issues — terms an «excessive debate», SYME (1939) 177-178 n. 6 on the one hand states that «the Triumvirs could continue to hold their powers after the date for their expiry, as in 37 B.C. This was what Antonius did in 32 B.C.», and on the other hand explains that the «sudden prominence of consuls and of a tribune at the beginning of 32 B.C. may be taken as final proof that the Triumvirate had come to an end, legally at least.» Further in

charge et le titre de triumvir» to have lapsed «certainement» on 31 December 33, he convincingly demonstrates that both M. Antonius and Octavianus continued to exercise triumviral prerogatives from 32, just like they had already done in 37 before the grant of the second *quinquennium*. Therefore, Roddaz concludes, «Le consulat qu'il exerça à partir de 31 ne se substitua donc pas à ses pouvoirs extraordinaires; il venait les renforcer parce que, pour des raisons d'opportunité politique, Octavien avait besoin, pour son image, de revêtir cette magistrature.» Roddaz subsequently explains that,

«Il n'y a pas pour autant de cumul d'*imperia*. De 31 à 27, Octavien possède un *imperium militiae* et *domi* du fait de la continuation de ses pouvoirs extraordinaires et de sa charge de consul. Lorsqu'il proclame que pendant son sixième et son septième consulat, il a rendu au peuple ses lois et son droit et qu'il a restitué les provinces, il indique qu'il met un terme aux pouvoirs exceptionnels qui lui avaient été confiés quinze ans plus tôt par la *lex Titia*. Ces pouvoirs ne se sont pas éteints avec le triumvirat, le 31 décembre 33¹⁰⁶.

In my opinion, Roddaz' argument remains problematic. For the year 32, it still implies the unlikely assumption that both Antonius and Octavianus acted as a sort of 'prot triumvirs', without the title/magistracy but with the right to enter Rome and put business before *SPQR*¹⁰⁷. The

this study (p. 279), Syme observes that «Octavianus professed to have resigned the office of Triumvir, but retained the power, as was apparent, not only to Antonius, but to other contemporaries — for Antonius, who, more honest, still employed the name, again offered to give up his powers, as he had done in the year before.» In his entry on 32 in *MRR* 2, p. 417-418, BROUGHTON in the same vein suggests that although the second triumviral term had «technically expired» and triumviral powers «had now legally lapsed», both men continued to wield their triumviral prerogatives as he observes that they «made use of offers to resign their powers as propaganda». Broughton duly notes that whereas Antonius continued to employ the title, Octavianus did not, which did not prevent him from assuming «full powers over those of Consuls or Proconsuls as a leader for war». For the view that Caesar Octavianus continued to hold *triumviralis potestas* (for this term, cf. supra n. 31) after the expiry of the second *quinquennium*, see also PETZOLD (1969) 337-339; FADINGER (1969) 143-145; CHRIST (1979) 456 & KIENAST (1982) 55. Comp. also SYME (1958) 184: «During the years 31-28 B.C. his only link with the *res publica* is the consulate, which gives legal cover, in so far as it can be given, to a paramount *imperium* not different from that of the Triumvir.»

¹⁰⁶ RODDAZ (2003) 397-418, esp. 405-409. In this paper, Roddaz further refines an argument first developed in his 1992 paper, which more or less was a critical assessment of Girardet's view on the point.

¹⁰⁷ Although RODDAZ (2003) 403 is absolutely right to explain that «le triumvirat n'a pas créé un nouvel ordre constitutionnel — tel n'était pas d'ailleurs l'objectif proclamé dans la titulature- mais s'est surimposé aux institutions républicaines sans toutefois les

suggestion that although the triumvirate itself necessarily lapsed on 31 December 33 (lacking its formal and, given Lepidus' removal, by now impossible renewal), «les pouvoirs qui avaient été attribués aux trois hommes perduraient tant qu'ils ne seraient pas déposés ou remplacés par d'autres et aucune source ne nous dit qu'ils le furent avant 28-27» is equally implausible¹⁰⁸. Had the triumviral *tempus* had the same effect as the consular *tempus*, both Antonius and Octavianus would have needed Senate or People to formally decree a *prorogatio imperii*, and this normally only authorized further exercise of powers in the provinces, not in Italy or, *a fortiori*, in Rome.

As is clear from the above analysis of the triumvirate as an extraordinary magistracy and the nature of its *tempus* in particular, the *triumviri r.p.c.* could only end their office by virtue of voluntary abdication, leaving aside abrogation or death. After Lepidus' deposition in 36, Antonius therefore continued to be triumvir either until 32, when *SPQR* in Rome formally removed him from all his (future) authority (cf. *infra*), or his suicide in Alexandria in August 30, depending on which side one takes. After Antonius' demise, Caesar Octavianus remained sole triumvir just as long as he did not take the trouble of abdicating. It is, unsurprisingly, again Dio Cassius who happens to record this milestone in quite circumstantial fashion.

faire disparaître», he wrongly claims that «Il est, en effet, difficile de concevoir, à cette époque, un commandement dans le domaine provincial autre qu'un proconsulat avec un *imperium militiae consulare* et l'*imperium* triumviral en dehors de l'Italie était l'*imperium militiae* des consuls qu'ils exerçaient *pro consule*.» — comp. also p. 404: «La nature de l'*imperium* des triumvirs était fondé principalement sur les compétences *militiae*», the triumvirs being defined as «gouvernants *pro magistratu*». As regards the provincial commanders of the triumviral era, Roddaz (*loc. cit.*) draws a distinction between the *legati* (*pro pr.*) and the «autres proconsuls». Although the triumvirs certainly relied on their vast armies to impose their overriding authority, it still concerns a *magistratus Populi Romani* with *consulare imperium* and a series of prerogatives *domi militiaeque*, such as the *ius agendi cum SPQR* (Gell. XIV 7.5). *Contra* GIRARDET (1995) 327, I therefore believe it would be a grave mistake to consider the triumvirate as a sort of unprecedented, extraordinary promagistracy with a distinct set of *domi* and *militiae* powers. The very fact that the *Fasti Triumphales* (DEGRASSI, *Inscr. It.* XIII 1, 86-87) record that Lepidus (*cos.* 46, II 42) the triumvir on 29 December 43 celebrated his second triumph for successes gained in Spain (as proconsul in charge of Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania Citerior: *MRR* 2, p. 326) *pro consule* shows that the triumvirs were not promagistrates: *M. Aimilius M.f.Q.n. Lepidus II, Illuir r(ei) p(ublicae) [c(onstituendae), a. DCCX] / pro co(n)s(ule) ex Hispania pridie k. [Jan.]*. Had the triumvirs *r.p.c.* really been some kind of extraordinary proconsuls the explicit distinction between both offices would have been pointless and pleonastic.

¹⁰⁸ RODDAZ (2003) 409.

In LIII 2.7, Dio relates that Octavianus, after having primed his closest senatorial confederates, entered the Senate in his seventh consulship, i.e., right after the pompous *restitutio* of the *leges et iura P.R.* of the previous year, and made a stately speech of tremendous importance. A few key passages from Dio's meticulous summary of what must have been Augustus' own authorized edition (LIII 3-10) of the oration unequivocally show that this address was nothing but his formal abdication speech, first spoken before the Senate and, perhaps, next before the People, as often happened under the Republic in state affairs of the greatest importance¹⁰⁹.

First, he warns the senators that some of them might find the decision he has made incredible as something that none of them would be willing to do. He immediately emphasizes that his intention does not concern a crooked promise for the future, but «will be put into effect at once today.»¹¹⁰ These opening words are clearly meant as a subtle allusion to Antonius' boastful promise from 32 to abdicate in the aftermath of the war, as to contrast the latter's insincerity with his own resolve. Next, Caesar Octavianus plainly states that it is in his power to rule over the Romans for life, since the opposition has been either liquidated or reconciled, his own partisans amply rewarded and his army more powerful and loyal than ever. In other words: who would dare or even desire stop him from *continuatio perpetua*? Nonetheless, he magnanimously proclaims his abdication. Now that Caesar has been avenged and the City itself rescued from a series of grave threats, his official mission as triumvir is completed. Therefore, there is absolutely no need for him to maintain his position of supreme power and be accused of tyranny:

οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὑμᾶς ἐξηγήσομαι, οὐδὲ ἔρει τις ὥς ἐγὼ τῆς αὐταρχίας ἔνεκα πάντα τὰ προκρατειρασμένα ἔπραχα· ἀλλὰ ἀφίημι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν καὶ ἀποδίδωμι ὑμῖν πάντα ἀπλῶς, τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς νόμους τὰ ἔθνη, οὐχ ὅπως ἐκεῖνα ὅσα μοι ὑμεῖς ἐπετρέψατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸς μετὰ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν προσεκτισάμην, ἵνα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων καταμάθῃτε τοῦθ', ὅτι οὐδ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δυναστείας τινὸς ἐπεθύμησα, ἀλλ' ὄντως τῷ τε πατρὶ δεινῶς σφαγέντι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ μεγάλων καὶ ἐπαλλήλων κακῶν ἐχέλεσθαι ἠθέλησα.

Despite all this, I shall lead you no longer. No one shall say that I performed all that I have accomplished so far for the sake of supreme

¹⁰⁹ For this speech, I have used the excellent translation by RICH (1990) 25-35, modified where necessary.

¹¹⁰ LIII 3 (νῦν δ' ὁπότε εὐθὺς καὶ τήμερον ἐπακολουθήσει τὸ ἔργον λάβω).

power. I lay down my entire command and return to you absolutely everything: the army, the laws and the provinces – not only those which you entrusted to me, but also those which I subsequently acquired for you. I do this so that you may learn from my actions themselves that I did not set out from the start to win a position of power, but genuinely wanted to avenge my father, who had been foully murdered, and to rescue the City from the great troubles that assailed it one after another¹¹¹.

Caesar Octavianus proceeds to complain that the arduous job of protecting the Republic (as triumvir *r.p.c.*) was forced upon him by the Romans themselves, and that the survival of Rome had always been his only goal. As he has now accomplished his task of preserving the Fatherland, he gladly resigns to make way for *SPQR* to fully resume their traditional roles and exercise their customary prerogatives:

ἐπειδὴ δὲ καλῶς ποιοῦσα ἡ τύχη καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄδολον καὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἀστασίαστον δι' ἐμοῦ ὑμῖν ἀποδέδωκεν, ἀπολάβετε καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν, κομίσασθε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπήκοα, καὶ πολιτεύεσθε ὥσπερ εἰώθειτε.

Since fortune has smiled on you and, through my agency, has restored to you unsullied peace and undisturbed harmony, receive back freedom and democracy, take back the armies and the provinces, and govern yourselves as you used to do¹¹².

In return for abdicating his omnipotent magistracy, he shall earn eternal glory:

ἂν τε καὶ τὸ εὐκλεές, οὐπὲρ ἔνεκα πολλοὶ καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν πολλάκις αἰροῦνται, πῶς μὲν οὐκ εὐδοχότατόν μοι ἔσται τηλικαύτης ἀρχῆς ἀφέσθαι, πῶς δ' οὐκ εὐκλεέστατον ἐκ τοσούτου ἡγεμονίας ὄγκου ἐθελοντὶ ἰδιωτεῦσαι ὥστ' εἴ τις ὑμῶν ἀπιστεῖ ταῦτ' ὄντως τινὰ ἄλλον καὶ φρονῆσαι ἐπ' ἀληθείας καὶ εἰπεῖν δύνασθαι, ἔμοιγε πιστευσάτω.

¹¹¹ LIII 4, esp. LIII 4.3-4. For ἀρχή occurring most frequently as the equivalent of Latin *magistratus*, see MASON (1974) 110. For ἀρχή being frequently used in our Greek sources to refer to the office of triumvir or triumviral rule, see, e.g., Dio L 1.3; App., *B.C.* V 132; Plut., *Ant.* 55.1-2, and, especially, 59.1 & 60.1, where ἀρχή is clearly used in its sense of magistracy, office. In the context of this speech, however, the expression ἀφίημι τὴν ἀρχήν probably is a Greek translation of the technical term *imperium deponere* — comp. Livy, *Per.* 132 (*Cum M. Antonius ob amorem Cleopatrae, ex qua duos filios habebat, Philadelphum et Alexandrum, neque in urbem uenire uellet neque finito Illuiratus tempore imperium deponere bellumque moliretur*) & Ann. I 2 (*posito triumviri nomine, consulem se ferens*).

¹¹² LIII 5; esp. LIII 5.4.

If glory is made the criterion, for whose sake many choose to go to war and risk their lives, what could be more glorious than for me to give up so great a command? What could bring me greater fame than from so exalted a position of power to become a private citizen of my own free will? Thus if there is any of you who does not believe that any one else could really decide in earnest to do what I am doing and announce it, at least let him believe it of me¹¹³.

Although the statement that he had now become a private citizen is rhetorical to the extent that he was still holding the consulship of 27, it perfectly fits the procedure of *abdicare se magistratu*, or its variant *deponere imperium*, which normally automatically implied the occupant's return to the status of *privatus*.

After making the boastful claim that his decision to lay aside his monarchical position surpassed «the deeds of all our forefathers in the whole of our previous history», Caesar Octavianus in quite modest words calls to mind that the rule that abdication from a non-annual magistracy like the triumvirate still remained a wholly voluntary act was particularly true in his case:

τις μὲν γὰρ ἂν μεγαλοψυχότερος μου, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν μετῆλλαχότα αὐθις εἶπω, τίς δὲ δαιμονιώτερος εὖρεθείη ὅστις, ὃ Ζεὺ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, στρατιώτας τοσούτους καὶ τοιούτους, καὶ πολίτας καὶ συμμάχους, φιλοῦντας με ἔχων, καὶ πάσης μὲν τῆς ἐντὸς τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν θαλάσσης πλὴν ὀλίγων κρατῶν, ἐν πάσαι δὲ ταῖς ἡπείροις καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη κεκτημένος, καὶ μὴτ' ἄλλοφύλου τινὸς ἔτι προσπολεμοῦντός μοι μὴτ' οἰκείου στασιάζοντος, ἀλλὰ πάντων ὑμῶν καὶ εἰρηνούντων καὶ ὁμο- νοούντων καὶ εὐθενούντων καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἐθελοντηδὸν πειθαρχ- ούντων, ἔπειθ' ἐκούσιος αὐτεπάγγελτος καὶ ἀρχῆς τηλικαύτης ἀφίσταμαι καὶ οὐσίας τοσαύτης ἀπαλλάττομαι.

Who might be found who is more magnanimous than I — not to mention again my late father — or who more nearly divine? These are my circumstances — let Jupiter and Hercules be my witnesses. I have a huge number of excellent soldiers, both citizen and allied, who are devoted to me. I rule almost all the sea up to the Pillars of Hercules. I am the lord of cities and peoples in every continent. No foreign enemy is still at war with me and at home no one is stirring up opposition to me. You are all living in peace and harmony, prospering and, most important, willingly to accept my rule. Yet of my own free will and on my own initiative I am resigning this formidable command and giving up this vast possession¹¹⁴.

¹¹³ LIII 6; esp. LIII 6.3.

¹¹⁴ LIII 7.1 & 8.1-2.

While repeatedly emphasizing that he would rather die a private citizen than a monarch, he next begs the senators to approve and firmly support his decision to «restore to you the armies, the provinces, the revenues and the laws»: ἀποδίδωμι ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰς τε προσόδους καὶ τοὺς νόμους¹¹⁵.

The final part of the speech, then, concerns an exhortation to preserve the established laws and customs, cultivate harmony and avoid civil strife at all cost. Otherwise, they would cause him to regret his decision (to abdicate the triumvirate *r.p.c.* as a guarantee for peace and security) and plunge the City into new wars and dangers¹¹⁶. In his funeral speech from 14 CE, Tiberius recalls Augustus' abdication of the triumvirate as one of his most magnimous acts ever, especially since,

ὅστις πάσας μὲν τὰς δυνάμεις ὑμῶν τηλικαύτας οὕσας ἔχων, πάντων δὲ τῶν χρημάτων πλείστων ὄντων κρατῶν, καὶ μήτε φοβούμενός τινα μήθ' ὑποπεύων, ἀλλ' ἐξὸν αὐτῷ πάντων συνεπαινούντων μόνῳ ἄρχειν, οὐκ ἡξίωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ μέσον ὑμῖν κατέθηκεν.

He possessed all your armies, whose numbers you know; he was master of all your funds, so vast in amount; he had no one to fear or suspect, but might have ruled alone with the approval of all; yet he saw fit not to do this, but laid the arms, the provinces, and the money at your feet¹¹⁷.

As the recurrent (and emphatic) references to 'the arm(ie)s', 'the provinces', 'the money' and 'the laws' refer to the most powerful prerogatives of the triumvirs, viz. exclusive control of the military and the (assignment of the) provinces, the *aerarium* and the right to issue edicts with the force of law, it should not be doubted that Dio here summarizes the oration occasioned by the act by which Caesar Octavianus surrendered all of them at once: his voluntary abdication of his *triumviratus r.p.c.*¹¹⁸. Since,

¹¹⁵ LIII 8.7; 9.1; 9.3 & 9.6 (quotation). In LIII 9.5, he again refers to the destruction of Caesar's murderers, the original *causa* for the establishment of the triumvirate *r.p.c.*

¹¹⁶ Dio LIII 10, esp. 1 & 8.

¹¹⁷ Dio LVI 39, esp. 4.

¹¹⁸ For the triumvirs' discretion to divide up the provinces (by virtue of mutual agreement or *sortitio*) and assign the (pro)magistracies and the other *honores* as they saw fit, see, e.g., Dio XLVI 55.3-5 (comp. App., *B.C.* IV 2 & 53); XLVII 15.1-3; XLVII 19.4; XLVIII 1.3-2.1 (comp. XLVIII 22.1-2 & App., *B.C.* V 3, 12, 26 & 53); XLVIII 28.4 (comp. App., *B.C.* V 65 & Plut., *Ant.* 30.4); XLVIII 32.1-3; XLVIII 35.1-2; XLVIII 36.4-5 (comp. App., *B.C.* V 72); XLVIII 39.2-3 (comp. Plut., *Ant.* 33.1); XLVIII 43.2-3 & 53.1-2; XLIX 22.3; XLIX 43.7 & 44.3; L 1.3-4 (comp. Plut., *Ant.* 55); LII 42.4; App., *B.C.* V 14 (comp. Dio XLVII 14.4 & XLVIII 6.2); V 51, 54 & 60-61; V 63; V 75; V

after Alexandria, Caesar Octavianus had also in fact become (*summus*) *imperator in toto imperio Populi Romani unus*¹¹⁹, his claims that this amounted to giving up absolute power – translated freely by Dio as *μοναρχία* – were not exaggerated in the slightest. Only if one understands these words as (Dio's personal adaptation of) Caesar Octavianus' pompous abdication statement does each and every part of it indeed become perfectly comprehensible¹²⁰. A comparison with what Dio writes in 50.4.3

123; V 128-129; V 132 & 134; V 137, 139 & 144.; Plut., *Ant.* 61.3. For their discretionary power over all public finances and taxation, see, e.g., Dio XLVII 16.2-5 (comp. Plut., *Ant.* 21.3); XLVIII 2.2 (comp. XLVIII 30.2; App., *B.C.* V 3, 5-7 & 10 and Plut., *Ant.* 23.1 & 24); XLVIII 9.5; XLVIII 24.1 (comp. App., *B.C.* V 3); XLVIII 31.1; XLVIII 34.2-4; XLVIII 49.1 (comp. App., *B.C.* V 67); XLIX 15.3; L 2.2; App., *B.C.* IV 5 & 32-34; IV 96; V 129-130; see, finally, also Dio L 6.2; L 10.4-5 (comp. 20.3 & Plut., *Ant.* 58.1). For the triumvirs' statutory empowerment to issue edicts with the force of law, see, e.g., Dio XLVI 55.3; XLVII 15.3; XLVII 18.3; XLVIII 3.2; XLVIII 37.1 (comp. 46.2); XLIX 16.1; App., *B.C.* V 22 (each of the triumvirs had absolute power over the affairs committed to him and ratified one another's acts) & 67. These sweeping powers did certainly not mean that the triumvirs did not bother to involve — or better perhaps, implicate, *SPQR* in their decision-making — on the very contrary, there are sundry indications of *SPQR* and the regular magistrates of the Roman People and the *plebs* continuing to perform their usual functions under triumviral rule: see, esp., LAFFI (1993) 37-59. This profound concern to maintain a façade of *consensus* and extend maximum legitimacy to their autocratic measures, regardless of the fact that these were lawful by virtue of the *lex Titia*, also explains why in January 39, the Senate had to ratify all triumviral acts from the time of the institution of the triumvirate in November 43: Dio XLVIII 34.1 After the treaty of Puteoli, M. Antonius accompanied Octavianus to Rome and had the Senate vote to ratify «all that he had done or should do» (ὅσα ἔπραξε τε καὶ πράξει) before he departed to assume his Parthian command: App., *B.C.* V 75. For this ratification ritual, see also, for example, Dio XLIX 14.4 & 41.4 and LI 20.1. In all these respects, the *triumviratus r.p.c.* closely resembled Sulla's *dictatura legibus scribundis et rei publicae constituendae* from 82-79 and the way he exercised it — see VERVAET (2004).

¹¹⁹ For this inspiring and prophetic definition, see Cic., *Pro Lig.* 7 (a plea made before Caesar, then *dictator III*, in the late summer of 46), referring to the *de facto* position of Julius Caesar after his defeat of Pompeius and his successes in Egypt in 48/47.

¹²⁰ Here I am in disagreement with Professor Rich, who (*per litteras*) maintains that «I read his speech for Octavian's resignation as of the same kind [i.e., as the speech for Caesar at Vesontio and the Agrippa/Maecenas dialogue] — brilliant, ironic writing, but Dio's free invention of what Octavian should have said, not a careful copy of a source.» Although Professor Rich (*ibid.*) rightly insists that in his abdication speech, Octavianus would surely not have spoken in terms of, e.g., *αὐταρχία* (LIII 4.3) or *μοναρχία* (LIII 6.4 & 9.5-7), the *ἀρχή* which Octavianus is giving up in this address is the triumvirate, the *triumvirale imperium*, and the words as recorded in LIII 3-10 should be read as Dio's embellished adaptation of the original abdication speech delivered by Octavianus on 13 January 27, or, perhaps, an abridged version from some lost Latin source. In LII 13.1, Dio may provide us with another indication of the historicity of the core of the abdication address paraphrased in LIII 3-10. Dio here represents Agrippa as urging Caesar Octavianus in 29 to restore to the People «the army, the provinces, the offices and the public

should remove any remaining doubt as regards the matter of the fact in LIII 3-10. Dio here relates that early in 32, after Octavianus had shamelessly read out Antonius' will in the Senate and before a *contio*, the Senate and the People «deprived him of the consulship, to which he had been previously elected, and of all his other authority»: καὶ τὴν τε ὑπατείαν αὐτόν, ἐς ἣν προεκεχειροτόνητο, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐξουσίαν πᾶσαν ἀρεῖλοντο. After this, *SPQR* immediately declared war upon Cleopatra and Egypt, including the famous charade of the fetial rites in the temple of Bellona¹²¹. Since Dio here clearly distinguishes between Antonius' consulship-designate and «all his other authority»¹²², the latter periphrase, too, can only refer to his triumvirate *r.p.c.*, of which he was now deprived by virtue of a *lex de imperio abrogando*¹²³. Dio's report is, furthermore,

funds»: καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ χρήματα. Although the ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν of LIII 5.4 refers to (his surrender of) the triumviral prerogative to designate and appoint the urban magistrates, the abdication speech does not make any explicit reference to the ἀρχαί, i.e., the triumviral prerogative to appoint the magistrates of the Roman People. Although Caesar Octavianus had continued to make use of this power well after Actium, as is clear from the suffect consulship of M. Tullius Cicero the Younger in the third quarter of 30, perfectly timed to have him announce Antonius' death to the People in the Forum (App., *B.C.* V 51 & Dio LI 19.4), the restoration of the *turnus* of the consular *fascēs* in January/February 28 surely implied that the officials of 27 would have been elected in accordance with traditional electoral procedures, the *comitiorum* [...] *pristinum ius* mentioned in Suet., *Aug.* 40.2. Therefore, it seems as if the emphasis in the abdication statement of 13 January 27 is on those fundamental triumviral prerogatives which were still 'active' (i.e., non-dormant), namely control of all armies and provinces, the public revenues and the power to issue edicts with the force of law, last used in 28 to rescind censurable triumviral measures. With respect to Dio's note (in LIII 1.1-2) that Octavianus took the customary oath on laying down the consulship at the end of that year, BRUNT & MOORE (1970) 75 cleverly explain that «Consuls normally swore at the end of their year that they had taken no action contrary to the laws (Pliny, *Panegyric* 65); apparently 28 was the first year in which Octavian had not scrupled to take this oath. The end of 28 was, therefore, the end of a period in which he had presumably not been bound by the laws.» To my thinking, Dio's valuable little note further shows that 28 had indeed been the first year in which Octavianus had largely ceased to make use of his discretionary triumviral prerogative to take decisions with the force of law.

¹²¹ Dio L 4.3-5-6; 6.1 & 21.1-4 (comp. also L 26.4-5). Dio's record clearly shows that although the declaration of war was chiefly aimed at Egypt and failed to make explicit mention of M. Antonius, it did include all Roman citizens across the Aegean who refused to abandon Cleopatra and continued to assist her.

¹²² As regards Lepidus' abrogation, compare also App., *B.C.* V 1 (Λέπιδος ἐξέπεσε τοῦ μέρους τῆς ἡγεμονίας) & 135; and Dio L 20.3 (αὐτὸν τὸν Λέπιδον...τῆς τε ἡγεμονίας ἀπάσης παραλέλυκασιν).

¹²³ For *imperium* being the most frequent meaning of ἐξουσία, see MASON (1974) 132-134, esp. 133. Bills on abrogations were always passed *de imperio* or *de potestate*, and not, for example, *de (pro)consulatu*, or, *de tribunatu*. Statutory cessation of a certain

corroborated by Ovid, who in his *Fasti* (I 589-590) relates: *Redditaque est omnis populo prouincia nostro, / et tuus Augusto nomine dictus auus* («On that day [i.e., 13 January 27], too, every province was restored to our people, and thy grandsire received the title of Augustus»).

In *Res Gestae* 34.2-3, Augustus himself commemorates that it was precisely in reward of his benevolent willingness voluntarily to abdicate at a time when there was literally no one left to contest his continuation or make him resign that Senate and People awarded him the *nomen Augusti* and another series of unprecedented honours, and that after this act he (allegedly) ceased to hold superior *potestas* vis-à-vis the other magistracies:

Quo pro merito meo senatus consulto Au[gustus] appellatus sum, et laureis postes aedium mearum uestiti [publ]ice, coronaque ciuica super ianuam meam fixam est et clu[peus] aureus in curia Iulia positus quem mihi Senatum [Pop]ulumq[ue Rom]anum dare uirtutis clem[ent]iaaeque iustitia[e et p]ietat]is caus[sa testatu]m est per eius clupei inscriptionem. Post id tempus a[uctoritate] omnibus praestiti, potestatis autem nihilo amplius habu[i quam cet]eri qui mihi quoque in magistratu conlegae [f]uerunt.

Apart from confirming Augustus' claim that he received this *nomen* in reward for his successful and complete achievement as triumvir, Livy's epitomator strongly suggests in *Per.* 132 that Octavianus must have

imperium or *potestas* automatically caused the lapse of the *nomen (pro)magistratus* by virtue of which it was exercised. That Antonius was deposed as triumvir and deprived of his consulship(-elect) through popular votes *ex s.c.* is clear from his own words, spoken to his troops in 31 before the battle of Actium and paraphrased by Dio in L 20.5-6. After calling to mind that he had been chosen a partner and colleague of Caesar, with the right to govern the Republic on a footing of equality, *pari imperio* (ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου; comp. XLIX 8.3; L 1.1 for this term), he bitterly complains that, καὶ ιδιώτης μὲν ἐξ ἡγεμόνος ἄτιμος δὲ ἐξ ὑπάτου γέγονα, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς (πῶς γάρ, ὁπότε καὶ ἔφυγον ἄντικρυς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, ἵνα μὴδὲν τοιούτου ψηφίσωνται) ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντων, οἵτινες οὐκ αἰσθάνονται μόναρχον αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς πρῶτους ἀσκοῦντες — «I have become a private citizen instead of a commander-in-chief, dishonoured instead of a consul, and this not by the action of the People nor yet of the Senate (for how could that be, when the consuls and some other senators went so far as to flee at once from the City in order to escape casting any such vote?), but by the act of this one man and of his associates, who do not perceive that they are training a sovereign to rule over themselves first of all?» Compare also *Ant.* 60.1, where Plutarch records that after Caesar had made sufficient preparations, «a vote was passed to wage war against Cleopatra, and to take away from Antony the office which he had surrendered to a woman.» In *Ant.* 59.1, Plutarch records that M. Antonius' partisans had actively lobbied in Rome to prevent him from being voted out of his office and proclaimed a public enemy: μὴ περιῖδεῖν αὐτὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ πολέμιον Ῥωμαίων ἀναγορευθέντα.

indeed justified his abdication by means of a formal declaration that he had fully restored (law and order in) the Republic and its provinces:

C. Caesar rebus compositis et omnibus prouinciis in certam formam redactis Augustus quoque cognominatus est; et mensis Sextilis in honorem eius appellatus est¹²⁴.

However startling its simplicity, the conclusion that Octavianus abdicated his triumvirate only on 13 January 27 immediately elicits the pressing question why the vast majority of modern historians have failed to take Dio's account at face value and fully grasp its true significance. First of all, scholarship has focused one-sidedly on the singular aspects of the unparalleled *triumviratus r.p.c.* A proper evaluation of the common features of the non-annual magistracies of the Republic is vital to a correct understanding of the *tempus* of the triumviral college and the particular nature of its *termini*¹²⁵. Nonetheless, the chief blame lies with none other than Octavianus/Augustus himself, for it is his very own policy of concealment and artful delusion, both contemporaneous and after, that has distorted the true face of history and deceived posterity with amazing success¹²⁶.

¹²⁴ Compare the somewhat distorted tradition in Cassiodorus, *Chron.* 563: *Caesar leges protulit, iudices ordinavit, prouincias disposuit et ideo Augustus cognominatus est.*

¹²⁵ Too many scholars have been fixated on the triumviral *quinquennia* and have misunderstood their precise nature, believing them to be the five-year equivalent of the annual tenure; see, e.g., DE MARTINO (1962) 90 & GABBA (1970) 7: «La *lex Titia* fissava un termine legale al Triumvirato: il 31 dicembre 38 a.C. Questa scadenza diversificava il Triumvirato dalla precedente magistratura costituente, la dittatura di Silla dell' 82 a.C., alla cui titolatura i Triumviri si richiamavano, e che, a quel che pare, doveva durare fino all'espletamento del compito: fu Silla ad abdicare spontaneamente quando ritenne di aver esaurito il suo programma.» Comp. also BENARIO (1975) 303: «E. Gabba rightly points out the difference between the dictatorship as held by Sulla and the triumvirate: the latter had a legal terminal date.»

¹²⁶ In *Ann.* I 3.7, Tacitus had already cynically observed that *quotus quisque reliquus, qui rem publicam uidisset*. In my opinion, BENARIO's assertion (1975) 301, that «It is most unlikely that he would have prevaricated when he could easily have been checked by mindful contemporaries and men of the younger generation who were fascinated by the events of the momentous period that saw the end of the republic and the establishment of the principate» is rather naïve. Although Benario admits that Tacitus was right, he maintains that «Augustus could not run the risk to his posthumous reputation of blatant falsehood.» Compare also MILLAR (1973) 65 for the observation that up to the events of 28 and 27, Augustus «conspicuously fails to claim any constitutional basis for his *potes-tas*»; and, esp., CARTLEDGE (1975) 31: «According to our main narrative source Cassius Dio (liii 19.3), in 27 B.C. a veil of secrecy descended – or rather was made to descend – on affairs of state; thereafter 'much that never takes place is broadcast, and much that occurs beyond a doubt is unknown'. Dio was wrong: the veil had come down well before 27. Contemporary authors were uninformed (Strabo, Dionysius of Halikarnassos, Nikolaos of Damascus, Cornelius Nepos), unconcerned (Horace, Virgil, Ovid) or unable to be explicit (Livy) about the technical niceties of political power.»

In his most illuminating study on the domestic policy of Emperor Caesar Divi f. from 36 to 28, Fergus Millar conclusively shows that it was especially in this age of transition that Caesar's adoptive son either induced or completed a multifaceted range of measures to restore and aggrandize the traditional *Res Publica* of the Roman People, the monumental and literary dignity of their shaken City and the glory of their age-long religious institutions, so creating a powerful semblance of genuine cultural, religious and constitutional revival¹²⁷. In perfect keeping with this argument, it can be shown that Octavianus had already gradually initiated the return to constitutional normality and the primacy of consular rule well before his bid for total control and the battle of Actium. An inscription from Tergeste shows that in 33 or 32, Caesar Octavianus began to shift the emphasis from his so-called 'second' triumvirate to his nomenclature and consulship, styling himself as *Imp. Caesar cos. desig. tert., / Illuir r.p.c. iter. / murrum turresque fecit*¹²⁸. In his letters on the privileges of Seleucus of Rhodus, Octavianus ceases to style himself as *triumvir* from 31, placing the emphasis entirely on his successive imperial salutations and consulships¹²⁹. After defeating Antonius and Cleopatra, he orchestrated a phased return to normality and (temporary) consular supremacy, a process culminating in the theatrical and momentous acts of 28 and January 27. During these crucial years, too, Caesar Octavianus consistently presented himself as *Imperator Caesar Diui Iuli filius* and consul (designate) rather than as *triumvir*: see, e.g., *ILS* 79 (31 BCE)¹³⁰; *ILS* 80 (29 BCE)¹³¹; and, especially, the

¹²⁷ MILLAR (2000).

¹²⁸ *ILS* 77 = *CIL* V 525 (p. 1022). Since Octavianus assumed his second consulship on 1 January 33 only to abdicate it after a few hours (Suet., *Aug.* 26.3; App., *Illyr.* 28; and Dio XLIX 43.6) and entered upon his third consulship in January 31, this inscription belongs to either 33 or 32 — *contra* ERMATINGER (1993) 109, who rashly concludes that «this must refer to the year 32 B.C.» Unsurprisingly, those scholars who argue in favour of 31 December 33 as the expiry date for the second *quinquennium* invariably date this inscription to 33, see, e.g., WARDLE (1995) 496-497 & GIRARDET (1995) 158-159. That Caesar Octavianus possibly ceased to advertise his title of triumvir on his coinage from the years 35-32 (comp. *RRC* Nos 539-545) cannot be proven since, as WARDLE (1995) 496 correctly indicates, we unfortunately lack definite examples of Octavianus' after 36 «to see whether he followed Antonius' example or, as in many other ways, deliberately distanced himself from his fellow triumvir.»

¹²⁹ *RDGE* No. 58; see esp. ll. 73-74 (31: *imp. VI, cos. III, cos. desig. IV*) & ll. 85-86 (30: *imp. VI, cos. IV*). For an excellent new edition of the epigraphic dossier concerning Seleucus of Rhodus, see RAGGI (2006).

¹³⁰ *Imp. Caesari diui [f.] / imp. VI, cos. III, / [pa]trono, d.c[. d.]*.

¹³¹ *Imp. Caesar[i diui f.] / cos. V, imp. VI, / Rufrani uicani q[uorum] / aedificia sunt*.

famous inscription from his campsite memorial in Nicopolis (29 BCE)¹³²; *ILS* 81 (29 BCE)¹³³; a letter of his to Ephesus (29 BCE)¹³⁴; and, last but not least, his contemporaneous coinage, including his remarkable *aureus* of 28 (obv.: *IMP·CAESAR·DIVI·F·COS·VI*)¹³⁵. In sum, Caesar Octavianus completely ceased to style himself as *triumvir* from 31, when the second triumviral *quinquennium* had expired, and *SPQR* were probably discreetly encouraged to follow this authoritative example¹³⁶. Henceforth the emphasis was invariably placed on the unique name he had assumed from 38 at the latest, viz. *Imperator Caesar Diui filius*, on his successive consulships(-elect) and on his cumulative imperial salutations, regardless of the fact that he stuck to his triumvirate and its vast powers until the grand finale on 13 January 27¹³⁷. After 31 December 32, his

¹³² *Imp. Caesar*[r] . *Diui*[i] . *Iuli* . [f] . *uict*[oriam] . *consecutus* / *bell*[o] . *quod* . *pro* . [r]e[.] *p*[u]blic[a] . *ges*[si]t . *in* . *hac* . / *region*[e] . *consul* [. *quintum* . *i*]mperat[or] . *se*]ptimum . *pace* [.] *parta* . / *terra* [. *marique* . *Nep*]tuno [. *et* . *Ma*]rt[i] . *c*]astra [. *ex* .] *quibu*[s] . / *ad* . *hostem* . *in*]seq[ue]ndum *egr*]essu[s] . *est* . *naualibus* . *spoli*]is / [. *exorna*]ta . *c*]onsacrauit . For this reconstruction, see MURRAY & PETSAS (1989) 76.

¹³³ *Senatus Populusque Romanus* / *Imp. Caesari diui Iuli f. cos. quinct. / cos. design. sext., imp. sept., re publica conseruata*.

¹³⁴ *AE* (1993), No. 1461 (= D. KNIBBE, H. ENGELMANN & B. IPLIKÇIOĞLU, *Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos XII*, *JÖAI* 62 (1993), p. 113-150, No. 2): [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Θε]οῦ υἱός, ὕπατος τὸ ε', αὐτο[κράτ]ωρ τὸ ζ'.

¹³⁵ For the *aureus* of 28, see RICH & WILLIAMS (1999). For his other coinage from 28, invariably styling him as (*IMP*) *CAESAR (DIVI·F) COS·VI*, see *RIC*, Aug., No. 476 (p. 79), No. 275 (p. 61) & No. 545 (p. 86).

¹³⁶ Therefore, *Papyrus EJ*, No. 302, which preserves part of an edict Octavianus issued as triumvir and records that *Imp. Caesar [d]iui filius, trium[u]ir rei publicae consultor dicit* (etc.), can be fairly safely assigned to the years before 31, which also implies that the non-sensical *consultor* should be emended to *constituenda iter(um)*, and not to *consul ter(tium)* or *iter(um)*. A possible indicator of how Octavianus' policy on his official nomenclature/titlature was also conveyed to the highest provincial authorities are a series of denarii minted by L. Pinarius Scarpus in Cyrenaica in 31, with the legend *SCARPVS IMP* for *M. ANTONIO COS.III.IMP.IIIII.AVG* and *IMP.CAESARI DIVI F. AVGUR.PONTIF* — see *RCC*, No. 546. At the very least, these inscriptions definitely show that Pinarius Scarpus was acutely aware of the delicate situation of the triumvirs after the expiry of their second comminatory term.

¹³⁷ This means that the record of his triple triumph of September 29 in the *Fasti Triumphales* most probably styled him as *imp-caesar-divi-f-c-f-cos-v*, as opposed to the entries for his ovations of 40 and 36, which consistently style him as *imp-caesar-divi-f-c-f-iii-vir-r-p-c* and *imp-caesar-divi-f-c-f-ii-iii-vir-r-p-c-ii* successively: DEGRASSI, *Inscr. It.* XIII 1, 86-87. The fact that in *R.G.* 8.1-2, Augustus emphatically records that, in 29, he increased the number of patricians *consul quintum iussu populi et senatus*, and that he subsequently conducted his first regular *lectio senatus/census* in 28, *in consulatu sexto...conlega M(arco) Agrippa* (comp. Dio LII 42; LIII 1.3 & the *Fasti Venusini* in Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* XIII 1, 254-255), and not by virtue of his triumviral powers, further suggests that the triple triumph of September 29, too, was celebrated in his capacity as *consul quintum*. Unfortunately, the *Fasti Barberiniani* are of no help, since all victors are listed merely by their full name without any reference to their official capacity at the time of their triumph/ovation.

unrelenting continuation of the triumvirate *r.p.c.* had evidently become a public secret of the highest order, not to be talked about openly even by his closest associates.

There is every indication that, after he had reinvented himself as Imperator Caesar Augustus and laid the constitutional foundations of his imperial Republic, Caesar Octavianus decided to regularize and correct his curriculum and so further obscure the truth about his prolonged continuation for all posterity. In his *Res Gestae* from 13 CE, he makes the well-known claim to have held the triumvirate *per continuos annos decem*, a highly biased version of history indiscriminately reproduced by Suetonius in *Diu. Aug.* 27.1: *triumviratum rei p. constituendae per decem annos administravit*. As this term perfectly corresponds with the triumvirs' two official quinquennial *tempora* and since the *Fasti Consulares Capitolini* list M. Aemilius Lepidus, M. Antonius and Imperator Caesar successively as *triumviri II* for the year 37¹³⁸, there is every reason to believe that Augustus had the second triumviral *tempus* follow directly on the first one, running from 1 January 37 to 31 December 33¹³⁹. Since the triumvirs only precede the consuls for 37, and not for 43 and 36, where the preserved entries only list the (eponymous and suffect) consuls, it is most likely that Augustus had the triumvirs only precede the consuls in 42 and 37¹⁴⁰. The clever artifice of representing both triumviral *quinquennia* as the five-year equivalent of the consular tenure allowed Augustus to tidy up some the overall picture of the triumviral era, troubled and blood-stained enough as it was¹⁴¹. The origins of this

¹³⁸ DEGRASSI, *Inscr. It.* XII 1, 58-59.

¹³⁹ Since Dio records in L 3.1-3 that Antonius' divorce of Octavia was one of the reasons for Titius and Plancus to defect to Octavianus early in 32, it is clear that Livy's epitomator (*Per.* 132, cf. supra) believes the second *tempus* to have lapsed on 31 December 33. Apart from the fact that this suggests that Livy's account of this period paid lip service to Augustus' representation of history and his official line on the duration of the triumvirate, this also indicates that, *post factum*, Augustus has indeed made the second *quinquennium* follow immediately upon the first one. See BEARD (2007), p. 303-304 for a striking example of how Augustus' triumphal history, too, may have been cleaned up in the *Fasti Barberiniani*.

¹⁴⁰ Compare BRUNT & MOORE (1970) 48: «Now the names of the triumvirs stand at the head of the entry for 37 and not for 36. The most natural explanation is that they were recorded only for the year in which the second term was retrospectively deemed to have begun. In that case the second term ended in Dec. 33.»

¹⁴¹ GABBA (1970) 12-13 had already argued that the official claim in the *Res Gestae* and the *Fasti Consulares* of Augustus having been triumvir for ten consecutive years was meant to obscure «la situazione illegale del 37», and that he resorted to other means to legitimate his omnipotent position for the now 'excluded' year 32. Gabba's assertion

policy of concealment can be traced back all the way to 37, when Caesar Octavianus and, possibly after his example, Lepidus, had already deliberately misrepresented the belated five-year extension of the official triumviral *tempus* as *iteratio* on their coinage and inscriptions¹⁴². Since, however, the triumvirs had never ceased to hold office in the first place there was really no *iteratio*, only *continuatio*. In this respect, it is interesting to note that unlike his opposite in Italy, M. Antonius never styled himself as *triumvir iterum* on his coinage¹⁴³. This indicates that he at least remained true to the real nature of the triumviral *tempus* and saw the five-year prolongment of 37 for what it was, an official extension of the comminatory term of a magistracy first assumed in 43 rather than a formal renewal of the office on the analogy of, for example, a second consulship assumed in immediate succession to the first one¹⁴⁴. An intentional side effect of these ingenious and subtle tricks was the obfuscation of the purely comminatory and task-defined nature of the triumviral *tempora*, with well-known consequences for subsequent ancient and modern scholarship.

However, in spite of this amazingly successful cover-up, there still happens to survive powerful, if not conclusive, evidence of his uncomfortably

on p. 15, a view shared by BADIAN (1991) 8 n. 8, that in 37, «durante alcuni mesi...i Triumviri tennero di fatto un potere illegale» is incorrect in that, *de iure*, the triumvirs could continue as such until abdication, death or abrogation. One could, however, perfectly argue that they had violated customary procedure by their decision to stay on as triumvirs well beyond the battles of Philippi, where they had destroyed the very cause of their extraordinary commission.

¹⁴² For the fact that Octavianus had *ITER* inserted into his title of *IIIVIR RPC* on his coinage from 37, i.e., immediately after the edict or the subsequent ratification vote by the Comitia, see *RRC*, Nos 537 & 538. For Lepidus' emulating this example, see *ILLRP* II, 1276 = *AE* 1959, 77: *M · LEPIDO · IMP · / TERT · PONT · MAX · / III · VIR · R · P · C · BIS · COS · / ITER · PATRONO / EX · D · D*. The remarkable speed by which Octavianus had his title adjusted strongly suggests that he had been the prime mover behind the decision officially to add another five-year term. As regards his rationale for an official five-year extension, comp. also GRENADE (1961) 29: «Le vote populaire qui dut entériner à la fin de 37 leur commune volonté et déterminer après coup la régularisation dont les Fastes au 1er janvier 37 portent la trace (C.I.L., I², p. 28) révèle seulement qu'Octave aura voulu donner l'impression qu'il s'était toujours conduit...en fils docile de la vieille République toujours soucieux d'inscrire ses pouvoirs dans les formes légales, et de conférer à sa situation exceptionnelle la sanction d'un titre régulier.»

¹⁴³ *RRC*, Nos 539 & 541-545.

¹⁴⁴ Compare also MOMMSEN's similar reflection in (1887) II, 718, quoted and discussed in the above. Although Appian's representation of M. Antonius in *B.C.* V 136 as «being in all other respects and at all times a frank, magnimous, and unsuspecting nature» obviously comes from a friendly source, it does indicate that he had a reputation for being straightforward, compared to his more secretive rival Caesar Octavianus.

long *continuatio* past the expiry of the second statutory *quinquennium*. First, there is the generally acknowledged (and well-documented) fact that he uninterruptedly continued to exercise discretionary triumviral prerogatives down to 28¹⁴⁵. Second, *ILS* 78, an inscription set up by the local authorities of the Roman colony of Luna in 28 unambiguously attests Imperator Caesar Divi f. as triumvir for that year, since it was dedicated to *Imp. Caesari d.f. / imp. V, cos. VI, / Illuir. r.p.c., / patrono*¹⁴⁶. In 1975, Paul Cartledge made the discerning observation that «The contradiction between IMP V and COS VI is most naturally resolved by assuming an error in the former (it should be IMP VII), because the consular year dated the inscription. For an exactly similar error, see Dessau, *ILS* no. 252.»¹⁴⁷ Whereas the dedicators are indeed mistaken insofar as Caesar already was *imperator VII* at that time, they can hardly have been wrong about his sixth consulship and his triumvirate, especially had he ceased to hold this office on 31 December 33 or, at the very latests, 31 December 32¹⁴⁸. Since

¹⁴⁵ Comp., e.g., Dio LI 2.1-6 & 3.3; LI 4.5-6; LI 8.2-3; LI 17.1-2; LI 20.6-7; LI 24.4; LII 43.1 & LIII 2.3.

¹⁴⁶ The remarkable success of Augustus' streamlining of (triumviral) history is clear from Dessau's own commentary on this inscription: «Numeri perturbati; anno 726, quo consul sextum fuit Caesar, imperator fuit non quintum, sed septimum, *nec iam dici uolebat triumuir reipublicae constituendae* [my italics].» That is precisely as things had to be from January 31: although he continued to hold the office until the proper time for abdication had come, Caesar Octavianus did not want to be called triumvir any longer in all official (means of) communication.

¹⁴⁷ CARTLEDGE (1975) n. 11 (39). To the best of my knowledge, Cartledge (32 & n. 11) is the only scholar to take this priceless inscription at face value. In (1993) 109-110, ERMATINGER, who believes that the triumvirate (and its constitutional powers) ceased at the latest in 32, merely suggests that the latter inscription shows that «the title of triumvir was not a negative attribute.» Ermatinger also makes the implausible observation that, regardless of the 'actual end' of the second triumviral *quinquennium* in 32, the factual end of Octavianus' tenure may be dated to 36, as he then shifted the emphasis from his title of triumvir to his adoption by Caesar (*Diui f.*).

¹⁴⁸ *Contra* WARDLE (1995) 497, who rejects this evidence as it contains «three items which are chronologically incompatible: triumviral powers, a fifth salutation as *imperator* and a sixth consulship»; and GIRARDET (1995) 159-160, who dismisses this invaluable primary source because of the erroneous count of the imperial acclamations and the fact that «die sonst bei Oktavian (anders als bei Antonius) übliche Angabe der Iteration des Triumvirats in der zitierten (vollständig erhaltenen) Inschrift nicht vorhanden ist.» As this inscription was set up by local authorities, not by *SPQR* or some Roman official, this counter-argument is anything but conclusive. One might conversely even argue that the authorities at Luna deliberately dropped the mention of iteration because this had become a bit awkward as the second official triumviral *quinquennium* had now been expired for well over three years. Although Girardet has little choice but to acknowledge that the inscription poses a problem, he simply suggests that the testimony of our only reliable sources, which all point to 31 December 33 as the final date of the second *quinquennium*,

Luna had been a Roman colony since 177, connected to the Roman road network in 115-109 and possibly refounded by Augustus with a veteran colony¹⁴⁹, the local authorities must have been reasonably well informed about the principal features of the official status of the hero of Actium and Alexandria at the time of this dedication. Third, there is Dio's telling summary of Caesar Octavianus' remarkable *coup de théâtre* in the Senate of 13 January 27. The speech paraphrased by Dio in LIII 3-10 was delivered to mark his abdication from the triumvirate, the voluntary act of *deponere triumvirale imperium*¹⁵⁰, and not some vaguely defined restitution of discretionary or 'protriumviral' powers held by virtue of some plebiscitary *consensus uniuersorum*, or, from 31, through his continuous consulships.

Finally, as John Rich and Jonathan Williams have conclusively shown in their excellent publication of a magnificent *aureus* of 28, it was especially the years 28 and 27 that marked the culmination of the specific programme

requires us to desist from using it any further: «Doch keine der denkbaren Änderungen kann zu einem befriedigenden, der Tatsache Rechnung tragenden Ergebnis führen, daß die nach wie vor einzigen verlässlichen Quellen für das Ende des Triumvirats das Jahr 33 v.Chr. dokumentieren (s.o. Kap. III). Nach Lage der Dinge empfiehlt es sich daher, auf jegliche argumentative Verwendung der Inschrift zu verzichten.» According to GIRARDET (p. 150-160), *R.G.* 7.1, Suet., *Aug.* 27.1, the *Fasti Colotiani* and the *Fasti Consulares Capitolini* respectively constitute the foremost elements of what he (in n. 71 of p. 159) bluntly defines as the «einzigen verlässlichen Quellen für die Dauer des Triumvirats». Although GIRARDET (1990a) 339 brands Octavianus as «gewiß einer der großen Verbrecher der Weltgeschichte», he indeed seems to have an unshakeable belief in the veracity of the Augustan version of history — compare also his reflections in (1995) 151-152 («Bis zum Erweis des Gegenteils ist nunmehr davon auszugehen, daß uns mit den diskutierten Zeugnissen historisch zutreffend die maßgebenden Daten des Triumvirats vermittelt wurden. 'Bis zum Erweis des Gegenteils' aber heißt, daß Augustus selbst wie auch die sonstige Überlieferung zum zehnjährigen Kontinuum des Amtes, mag sie von ihm abhängig sein oder nicht, der Lüge oder der Manipulation überführt werden müßten.») and 160-161 («In der Tat haben sich alle Versuche als Fehlschlag erwiesen, den ersten Prinzeps einer ihm unterstellten, vergleichsweise plumpen Verfälschung der durch Dokumente ermittelbaren historischen Wahrheit zu überführen.»). For a similar confession of faith, see BENARIO (1975) 301: «I start from the basic assumption that Augustus did not lie in the 'Res Gestae'...although he may have been guilty of error by omission, he was innocent of error of commission, and when he made a statement of fact, it was what he remembered as correct.»

¹⁴⁹ For this summary of Luna's history in the second and first centuries BCE, see Livy XLI 13.4 & M.G. ANGELI BERTINELLI, *Luna* [3], in *DNP*, Vol. VII, col. 882.

¹⁵⁰ Given the fact that Caesar Octavianus, and, after his example, *SPQR*, deliberately dropped his title of triumvir in official documents from 31, it is highly probable that he did not explicitly mention it in this speech and rather spoke in terms of *magistratus*, *officium*, or, and perhaps most likely, *imperium* — cf. Livy, *Per.* 132. In my opinion, the term used by Dio in LIII 4.3, 6.3 & 8.2 should therefore indeed be read as a translation of *deponere imperium* rather than *se abdicare magistratu*.

to restore constitutional propriety¹⁵¹. As an opening to the grand finale of January 27, Emperor Caesar first reinstated the monthly *turnus* of the consular *fascēs* at the outset of his sixth consulate in 28. By sharing the supreme command with his colleague Vipsanius Agrippa, he officially reasserted the consuls' traditional role as the leading magistrates of the Roman Republic, at least so in Rome and Italy. He thus manifested his willingness to govern the Republic henceforth as consul, and no longer as triumvir. Among other things, he also issued a magnificent *aureus* that portrayed him as sitting on a *sella curulis*, holding a scroll in his right hand, with a *scrinium* on the ground beside him and with the striking inscription that he had now officially restored the Laws and the Rights of the Roman People: *LEGES ET IVRA P(OPVLI) R(OMANI) RESTITVIT*¹⁵². Rich and Williams plausibly suggest that this

¹⁵¹ According to Dio LII 1.1, the momentous decision to put an end to the state of mobilization (i.e., rule by virtue of the triumvirate *r.p.c.*, an office that was martial law incarnate) and entrust the public affairs to *SPQR* (τά τε ὅπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τὰ πράγματα τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐπιτρέψαι) was taken in 29.

¹⁵² Many scholars argue for a completion as the dative *P(opulo) R(omano)*: see, e.g., RICH & WILLIAMS (1999) 182 («On balance the dative version seems the more likely, both linguistically and in the light of the other evidence for Octavian's actions in 28-27...which represents him in a process of restitution to the senate and people»); MILLAR (2000) 5; RODDAZ (2003) 39; and FERRARY (2003) 419 & 421. Although Dio (LII 13.5) has Agrippa advising Caesar Octavianus in 29 against relinquishing his office (τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφεῖναι) just like that, «but first to take all the measures which the public interest demands and by decrees and laws to settle definitively all important business, just as Sulla did», there no evidence of any massive legislation in 28 or 27, on the model of what Sulla had done as dictator. Therefore, the advertised restitution of 'the laws and the rights of the Roman People' merely resulted from the edict by which Caesar Octavianus annulled a series of triumviral measures that suspended or ran counter to existing customary and statute law. It follows, then, that *restituere* is here used in the sense of 'restoring to its former condition' rather than in the sense of 'to give back' (i.e., synonymous with *reddere*). Therefore, it is better to complete the abbreviation as the genitive form *P(opuli) R(omani)*. The actual 'return' of the Republic to *SPQR* then followed on 13 January 27, when he abdicated his triumvirate and, with it, surrendered his absolute control of the *aerarium*, the (assignment of the) provinces, the military, etc. MILLAR's thesis in (2000) 4-7, that Caesar Octavianus only conserved (*conseruare*) or restored (*restituere*) the Republic and the Laws, but never returned them (*reddere*) to *SPQR* therefore has to be qualified in that the full restitution (in the sense of 'putting back in order') of Roman public and private law (comp. Vell. II 89.3: *restituta uis legibus, iudiciis auctoritas*) took place in 28, whereas the return of (absolute control of) the *Res Publica*, however momentary, took place on 13 January 27. In his famous reflection on the question whether Caesar Octavianus ever contemplated returning the Republic (Aug. 28.1: *De reddenda Re P. bis cogitauit: primum post oppressum statim Antonium, memor objectum sibi ab eo saepius, quasi per ipsum staret ne redderetur; ac rursus taedio diuturnae ualitudinis, cum etiam magistratibus ac senatu domum accitis rationarium imperii tradidit*), Suetonius obviously comments on those few occasions when he possibly considered to do so in a definitive, enduring way. MANTOVANI (2008), a study made more or less simultaneously with this inquiry, now makes an erudite case for the

formula derives from a decree of the Senate following the contemporaneous, quite remarkable edict on record in Tacitus and Dio Cassius¹⁵³. In *Ann.* III 28, Tacitus indicates that,

Sexto demum consulatu Caesar Augustus, potentiae securus, quae triumphuratu iusserat aboleuit deditque iura quis pace et principe uteremur.

At last, in his sixth consulship, Augustus Caesar, feeling his power secure, cancelled the behests of his triumvirate, and presented us with laws to serve our needs in peace and under a prince.

Dio further completes Tacitus' summary note in LIII 2.5:

ἐπειδὴ τε πολλὰ πάνυ κατὰ τε τὰς στάσεις κὰν τοῖς πολέμοις, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ τε Λεπίδου συναρχία, καὶ ἀνόμως καὶ ἀδίκως ἐτετάχει, πάντα αὐτὰ δι' ἑνὸς προγράμματος κατέλυσεν, ὅρον τὴν ἑκτὴν αὐτοῦ ὑπατείαν προθεῖς¹⁵⁴.

Since he had put into effect many illegal and unjust measures during the period of civil strife and wars, especially in his joint rule with Antony and Lepidus, he now annulled them all, fixing his sixth consulship as the limit¹⁵⁵.

Caesar Octavianus' political course of action in the immediate aftermath of Actium only acquires its full meaning if one accepts the fact that he still was triumvir *r.p.c.* The (re)constitution of the shaken and embattled Republic after years of civil discord and turmoil, including the restoration of consular supremacy and the so-called *restitutio legum et iurum* of 28, was precisely the primary task of the *ad hoc* magistracy of *triumvir rei publicae constituendae*, its original cause and core business. Emperor Caesar's meticulously prepared abdication of the triumvirate

genitive being the proper reading of the inscription: see, esp., p. 13-36. Amongst many other things, Mantovani demonstrates that the formula *leges et iura* was (p. 22) «una forma tipica e solenne per designare le norme giuridiche — essenzialmente di diritto private e criminale —, il diritto romano in senso oggettivo», and (p. 29) that the *aureus* shows Caesar Octavianus «che legge in pubblico il suo editto di abolizione» — the edict rather than its actual content being the centrepiece. The conclusions of this article further corroborate Mantovani's main argument.

¹⁵³ RICH & WILLIAMS (1999) 187 & 198.

¹⁵⁴ According to Dio LIII 2.6, it was the approbation and praise he received for this that prompted him to stage-manage his theatrical abdication and subsequent dramatic re-enlistment by *SPQR*.

¹⁵⁵ 'Illegal' in the sense of 'contravening the *mos maiorum* and customary and statute law — as the *lex Titia* was statute law, all triumviral measures taken by virtue of its empowering clauses were not illegal in the strict sense of the word.

itself on 13 January 27, then, was no more than the logical, inevitable, and long-awaited climax of this carefully staged road map to constitutional and political normality¹⁵⁶. In this respect, it is important to qualify the contention that «Dio [in LIII 3-10], for his own purposes, misrepresented as a single act what was in fact a staged process, most of which probably took place not in 27, but in 28»¹⁵⁷. In 28, after having officially reinstated the consular *turnus* of the *fascēs*, Caesar Octavianus also restored the full rule of Roman public and private law by rescinding incompatible or unjust triumviral measures, most of which predated the second triumviral *quinquennium*¹⁵⁸. On 13 January 27, then, he surrendered, amongst other extraordinary triumviral *iura*¹⁵⁹, the very prerogative

¹⁵⁶ See VERVAET (2004) 60-66 for the suggestion that, in all likelihood, Caesar Octavianus here acted on the model of what Sulla had done as dictator in 81-79. After having reconstituted the shattered Republic in 82/81, the dictator issued an edict inviting the consuls and other magistrates of 81 to resume their traditional roles in state matters. That much can be inferred from Cic., *Rosc. Am.* 139: *Dum necesse erat resque ipsa cogebat, unus omnia poterat; qui posteaquam magistratus creauit legesque constituit, sua cuique procuratio auctoritasque est restituta*. Next, Sulla stood for the consulship himself and ran the Republic in 80 as *consul II*, with Metellus Pius as a colleague. His theatrical abdication from his plenipotentiary dictatorship at the outset of 79, then, was the grand finale of this carefully staged restoration of consular rule and his *constitutio Rei Publicae* in general. Those scholars who (continue to) argue for Sulla abdicating around mid-81 ignore Cicero's words in *Off.* II 51: *Maxime autem et gloria paritur et gratia defensionibus, eoque maior, si quando accidit, ut ei subueniatur, qui potentis alicuius opibus circumueniri urgerique uideatur, ut nos et saepe alias et adulescentes contra L. Sullae dominantis opes pro Sex. Roscio Amerino fecimus, quae, ut scis, extat oratio*. This statement strongly suggests that Sulla was still holding his plenipotentiary dictatorship at the time of Roscius' trial and Cicero's brave plea in 80 BCE.

¹⁵⁷ RICH & WILLIAMS (1999) 212-213.

¹⁵⁸ In XLVII 15.3-4, for example, Dio records that at the very end of 43, the triumvirs abolished some laws entirely and inserted new provisions in others (νόμους τε τοὺς μὲν ἀπῆλειψαν τοὺς δὲ ἀντενέγραψαν), managing matters according to their wish and desire. The annulment of such measures contravening existing statute and customary law in 28 was made by virtue of the same triumviral prerogative that had been used to introduce them in the first place. That the triumvirs had always been aware that many of their measures infringed on customary rules and regulations is clear from Dio XLVIII 34.2-3. Dio here records that as the triumvirs introduced new taxes in 39 because the expenditures proved far greater than the budget made in the time of Julius Caesar and goes on to explain that, «for though they were expending vast sums for themselves and especially upon the soldiers, the only thing they were ashamed of was that the expenditures they were making were contrary to precedent (παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκός).» For the generally lawless reputation of the 40's and 30's BCE, see, famously, Tac., *Ann.* III 28: *exim continua per uiginti annos discordia, non mos, non ius*.

¹⁵⁹ *Contra* FERRARY (2003) 420, who believes the *aureus* of 28 to celebrate the restitution to the Roman People of «ses pouvoirs (car c'est ce mot qui traduit le mieux *iura*) et ses lois».

by which these censurable measures had been imposed in the first place, namely his statutory power to issue edicts with the force of law¹⁶⁰.

Another key passage from Tacitus beautifully confirms this reconstruction. In *Ann.* I 2, Tacitus relates that

Postquam Bruto et Cassio caesis, nulla iam publica arma, Pompeius apud Siciliam oppressus, exutoque Lepido, interfecto Antonio, ne Iulianis quidem partibus nisi Caesar dux reliquus, posito triumviri nomine, consulem se ferens et ad tuendam plebem tribunicio iure contentum

When the killing of Brutus and Cassius had disarmed the Republic; when Pompeius had been crushed in Sicily and, with Lepidus thrown aside and Antonius slain, even the Julian party was leaderless but for Caesar; after laying down his triumviral title, he conducted his business as a simple consul content with tribunician authority to safeguard the commons.

The combination of what Tacitus records in *Ann.* III 28 (supra) and this clearly chronological summary of events provides additional positive proof that Caesar Octavianus laid down the *nomen triumviri*, i.e. the triumvirate¹⁶¹, only at some point after having become sole ruler of the Roman world in 30. The *Res Publica libera* perished with Brutus and Cassius in 42; the Pompeian cause was lost and Lepidus swept aside in 36; Antonius committed suicide in August 30; Caesar, now the only remaining leader of the Caesarian faction, first normalized political life in Rome during his sixth consulship, subsequently abdicated his triumvirate in January 27 and next was merely consul until the summer of 23, when he received the *tribunicia potestas, summi fastigii uocabulum*¹⁶².

¹⁶⁰ *Contra* RICH & WILLIAMS (1999) 198, who assert that «their laws and rights were restored to the Roman people in 28, and the armies and provinces on 13 January 27. However [...] Dio does not conceive of Octavian's surrender of his extraordinary powers as a staged process, but represents it as a single comprehensive act taking place in 27 [...] Thus Dio represents Octavian as returning the laws along with his other extraordinary powers in 27. This is in direct conflict with the claim of the *aureus* that Octavian restored the laws in 28.» Since Dio's representation, however concise, is not incorrect, it follows that the *aureus* of 28 cannot be used as proof that Dio did not draw from an original source for his summary of Octavianus' abdication speech of 13 January 28.

¹⁶¹ See Livy III 33.3 & 34.8 for references to (the fundamental distinction between) the *consulum nomen imperiumque*.

¹⁶² As a matter of fact, Tacitus' carefully chosen words (*posito triumviri nomine, consulem se ferens*) brilliantly describe both the period 31-27, when he dropped the title of triumvir in an attempt to obscure his *continuatio* of the office, as well as the years 27-23, when, after his abdication of the triumvirate, he on the surface indeed was a mere consul. RODDAZ's observation in (2003) 402 n. 43 that «Cette remarque est éclaircie, en ce qui concerne la chronologie, par Tacite, *Ann.*, III. 28, et *RGDA*, 34», which implies that

Before concluding this discussion, two more pertinent questions need to be answered. Why did Caesar Octavianus (and, for that matter, M. Antonius) decide on a second, potentially protracted continuation of what still was a triumvirate, a board of three? And why has he apparently done everything in his power consistently to cover up this continuation from January 31? As regards the first question, a fairly obvious answer offers. At first the outbreak of a most serious and decisive war provided both triumvirs with the best possible pretext for continuation. As long as conflict raged, the triumvirate's chief task, of restoring the Republic to its former glory by stamping out civil strife, was unfulfilled by definition. On the contrary, the state of emergency fully warranted staying on *Rei Publicae (constituendae) causa* since dealing with this kind of all encompassing crisis had been the very *raison d'être* for the triumvirate and its tremendous powers. The enormous paradox was that, at least in terms of their own official propaganda, both triumvirs were now compelled to soldier on because of the perceived threat posed by one another's actions. That Caesar Octavianus (and Antonius) indeed legitimized their continued tenure of the triumvirate as being in the best interest of the Republic and its survival is clear from, for example, the former's claim in the Nicopolis campsite memorial that the war against Cleopatra was waged «on behalf of the Republic»: *PRO [R]E [·]P[V]BLIC[A]*¹⁶³. In this respect, the very decision to have unprecedented numbers of men take the oath of *euocatio/coniuratio* in 32, too, speaks volumes as regards the public legitimation of the Egyptian War. Formally a voluntary though legally constitutive oath, «it established the leader and his followers as the bona fide saviours of the Republic.»¹⁶⁴ Finally, Augustus' own famous testimonies in his abdication speech¹⁶⁵ as well as his *Res Gestae*¹⁶⁶ show that, from 13 January 27 at the latest, he had consistently justified his further continuation as *triumvir sine conlegis* after the capture of Alexandria as something favoured by all inhabitants

Octavianus laid down his triumvirate during his sixth consulship, i.e., in 28, is in contradiction with the rest of his argument on Octavianus' official position after 31 December 33.

¹⁶³ See MURRAY & PETSAS (1989) 76. In this inscription (supra, n. 132), Octavianus claims to have restored the peace on land and sea — comp. App., *B.C.* V 130 (cf. supra) for a similar statement in the inscription he had erected in Rome in the autumn of 36 immediately after his solemn return from his victorious war against Sextus Pompeius.

¹⁶⁴ LINDERSKI (1984) 80.

¹⁶⁵ See esp. Dio LIII 4.1-2 & 8.1-2; comp. LVI 39.4.

¹⁶⁶ *R.G.* 34.1, quoted in n. 2.

of the Empire alike¹⁶⁷. In reality, however, he still very much needed the triumvirate's wide powers to realize his version of a Republic and, above all, secure a flawless transition to a new and more lasting format for his autocracy. Since as sole remaining triumvir he now wielded the supreme command, the *summum imperium auspiciumque*, indiscriminately over all provinces and armies, he could be fairly confident that no one should dare tamper with his policies and projects. The fact that he completed the gradual return to normality while he was sharing his sixth and seventh consulate with none other than M. Vipsanius Agrippa, his most trusted lieutenant, further highlights his great caution. Since his *Restitutio Rei Publicae* and theatrical abdication followed only in 28 and January 27, he clearly lived his own motto of *festina lente* at this defining moment of his political career and the history of all Rome¹⁶⁸.

Lastly, there remains the question why Emperor Caesar Augustus decided to obscure his twofold continuation of the triumvirate, first in 37 with his two colleagues, and then, after the expiry of the second five-year term in December 32, again for four more years. To my thinking, it is again possible to propose a quite simple answer.

First of all, one should recall that both continuation and, to a lesser extent, iteration had always had a bad name under the Republic. As regards the annual magistracies, continuation was technically impossible and therefore highly illegal¹⁶⁹, whereas iteration was regulated by very

¹⁶⁷ *Contra* COLI (1953) 415, who argues that «finito poi anche il secondo quinquennio, cercò di giustificare con un discutibile *consensus uniuersorum* (*Mon. Ancyr.* 6.13) la continuazione dei poteri eccezionali». The massive military oaths took place in 32, whereas the situation of Caesar Octavianus having become *per consensus uniuersorum potens rerum omnium* emerged after his decisive victory over M. Antonius and Cleopatra — the *Res Gestae*, too, clearly distinguish between both 'events' (25.2 as compared to 34.1). In January 27, he again wanted everybody to demand him back at the helm of the state: see Dio LIII 2.6; LIII 11.4 & LVI 39.6.

¹⁶⁸ As for the precise nature of the so-called *restitutio Rei Publicae*, RODDAZ (2003) 410 makes the pertinent observation that «Auguste et ses partisans déclarèrent qu'ils avaient restauré la *Res Publica*, mais ce n'était pas le régime républicain que César avait déjà enterré. Le *Divi filius* avait rétabli l'État et ramené la stabilité et l'ordre, ce que le peuple romain lui avait demandé.» That the (re)constitution of the Republic in 28 and 27 indeed amounted to an artificial and much publicized resurrection of a(n admittedly powerful) façade is clear from Vell. II 89.3-4: *Finita uicesimo anno bella ciuilia, sepulta externa, reuocata pax, sopitus ubique armorum furor, restituta uis legibus, iudiciis auctoritas, senatui maiestas, imperium magistratuum ad pristinum redactum modum, tantummodo octo praetoribus adlecti duo. Prisca illa et antiqua rei publicae forma reuocata.*

¹⁶⁹ COLI (1953) 399 points out that «non vi ha in tutta la storia di Roma alcun esempio di magistrato [i.e., the *magistratus annui*] rimasto in carica oltre lo spirare del termine.»

restrictive legislation. The distinct diversity and irregularity of the non-annual magistracies probably accounts for the fact there apparently was no overall law regulating continuation and iteration for this kind of office. At any rate, continuation normally signalled either failure to achieve and thus incompetence, or, worse, sheer unwillingness to abdicate and tyrannical aspirations. Therefore, such conduct was liable to criminal prosecution, in particular if the comminatory term for completing the set task had expired. Since this issue is of crucial importance to the argument here, it is useful to discuss a couple of instructive and illuminating examples.

In 363, L. Manlius Capitolinus Imperiosus, who had been appointed *clauis figendi causa*, aspired to take command in the war against the Hernici, so exceeding his religious function and continuing his dictatorship past completion of its specific task. When his rigorous levy met with the unanimous opposition of the tribunes of the *plebs*, Livy narrates, «he yielded either to force or to a sense of shame, and resigned his dictatorship.»¹⁷⁰ Valerius Maximus records in V 4.3 that in 362, the tribune of the *plebs* M. Pomponius summoned him «to trial before the People for having exceeded the legal term of his command, led thereto by an opportunity to end the war successfully».

In n. 18, Coli explains that «Non forma eccezione il caso di L. Cornelio Cinna e di Cn. Papirio Carbone, consoli dell'a. 85 rimasti in carica anche nell'a. 84, perchè, anche se fu fatto a meno dei comizi, ci fu un simulacro di nuova elezione per l'anno seguente (Livio, *ep.* 80: *citra ulla comitia, in sequentem annum se ipsos renuntiauerunt*). Del resto si tratta di un periodo rivoluzionario, in cui *sine iure fuit respublica*. Quanto al caso riferito da Suetonio, *Tib.* 4.2.-3, di Claudio Nerone che, *functus praetura*, trattenne le insegne della magistratura *ultra iustum tempus* finchè Sesto Pompeo gli vietò d'usarle, non è un caso di continuazione della carica, bensì di esercizio abusive delle funzioni di essa come promagistrato.» The most spectacular if, perhaps, largely legendary example of wholly illegal *continuatio* past the expiry of the annual tenure is that of the second board of *decemviri (consulari imperio) legibus scribundis* into 449 BCE: see COLI (1953) 415-418. Coli's conclusive argument that, regardless of its extraordinary powers, the decemvirate *legibus scribundis* was constituted as an annual magistracy in replacement of the consulship is further corroborated by Livy IX 34.1-3. Unsurprisingly, Livy repeatedly brands the decemvirs of 449 as *priuati* (illegally) holding *fascēs* and *imperium*. Although MOMMSEN (1887) II, 351 n. 1 believes Frontinus, *Aq.*, I 7, to record an unparalleled one-year extension of the *praetura Urbana* (144 BCE, Q. Marcius Rex: *et quoniam ad consumandum negotium non sufficiebat spatium praeturae, in annum alterum est prorogatum*), observing that «Eine derartige Prorogation eines städtischen Amtes ist verfassungswidrig und sonst ohne Beispiel», it most probably concerns a regular *prorogatio imperii in annum*, with Q. Marcius perhaps being given special dispensation to operate *intra pomerium* as a *propraetor*.

¹⁷⁰ Livy VII 3.4 & 3.9.

L. Manlio Torquato diem ad populum Pomponius tribunus plebis dixerat, quod occasione bene <con>ficiendi belli inductus legitimum obtinendi imperii tempus excessisset.

As the *tempus legitimum* of the *dictatura c.f.c.* was defined by the completion of its very task, every day of continuation past that moment (without authorization by *SPQR*) was deemed unacceptable, as is clear from Cic., *Off.* 3.112: *L. Manlio A. f., cum dictator fuisset, M. Pomponius tr. pl. diem dixit, quod is paucos sibi dies ad dictaturam gerendam addidisset*¹⁷¹. Another telling example concerns the notorious censorship of Appius Claudius Caecus (*cos.* 307, *II* 296). Elected to the office in 312 along with C. Plautius Venox, Appius flatly refused to lay down his censorship regardless of the expiry of its statutorily defined (maximum) term of eighteen months¹⁷². Instead, he went on to supervise the construction of the Via Appia and an aqueduct for the City as sole censor. One of the tribunes of the *plebs*, P. Sempronius, immediately commenced an action to confine the censorship to its lawful term (*intra legitimum tempus*). Amongst other things, he powerfully argued that if Appius continued as censor past the completion of his official censorial tasks and the expiry of the statutorily defined *tempus legitimum*, all future magistrates appointed for specific tasks might be tempted to emulate his example and cling onto their offices for as long as they saw fit. Sempronius next solemnly pledged not to suffer Appius to administer the censorship alone and promptly ordered to have him arrested and carried off to prison, a bold decision reportedly thwarted by the vetoes of three of his colleagues who decided to protect Appius on his appeal. Livy winds up his account with the biting criticism that Appius continued as sole censor to the utmost indignation of all classes: *summaque invidia omnium ordinum solus censuram gessit*¹⁷³. As for the duration of

¹⁷¹ See *MRR* 2, p. 118 for (the sources for) the fact that Manlius Imperiosus was also accused of raising a levy with too great severity and of mistreatment of his son, who eventually compelled the tribune to give up the prosecution.

¹⁷² Livy IX 33.4-5: *Ap. Claudius censor circumactis decem et octo mensibus quod Aemilia lege finitum censurae spatium temporis erat, cum C. Plautius collega eius magistratu se abdicasset, nulla ui compelli ut abdicaret potuit.*

¹⁷³ Livy IX 33.4-34.26. This demonstrates that there was little the authorities could do to prevent a self-willed non-annual magistrate from continuing his office if he could count on the support of one or more tribunes of the *plebs*. In my opinion, this reassessment of Augustus' official position (in 37 and) from 31 to 27 may cast a startling new light on this remarkable and lively digression in Livy's ninth book. I will return to the matter of Appius' (continuation of the) censorship and (the implications of) its representation in Livy in a forthcoming study.

Appius' sole *continuatio*, Livy records a little further in his *History* that he found «in certain Annals that Appius [in 308 BCE] sought the consulship [of 307 BCE] when (still) censor, and that L. Furius, a tribune of the *plebs*, refused to let him stand until he should have resigned the censorship»¹⁷⁴. This means that Appius Claudius had indeed held the censorship for almost five years, roughly the equivalent of its original *tempus*¹⁷⁵.

Second, in the relentless war of propaganda that so marked the triumviral era, both L. Antonius and M. Antonius had repeatedly blamed Octavianus for the continuation of discretionary triumviral rule past completion of the triumvirs' official commission to restore peace, law and order in the Republic. In 41/40 (Lucius) and again in 34 and 32 (Marcus), the Antonius brothers publicly suggested that it really was Octavianus who was unwilling to abdicate in conformity with customary procedure, regardless of the actual duration of the comminatory *tempora legitima*. In L 2.3-4, Dio recounts that on that fateful 1st of January 32 the consul Sosius spoke powerfully, praising Antonius and attacking Octavianus, and that only the veto(s) of the tribune Nonius Balbus thwarted his bold move to suit the action to the word by introducing

¹⁷⁴ Livy IX 42.3: *Appium censorem petisse consulatum comitiaque eius ab L. Furio tribune plebis interpellata, donec se censura abdicarit, in quibusdam annalibus inuenio*. In terms of public law, the *censura* could be combined with another non-annual or regular magistracy (cf. supra n. 65). Nonetheless, L. Furius' demand for Appius to abdicate the office before standing for the consulship can be easily explained. On a general note, even a temporary combination of censorship and consulship(-elect) would have made for a dangerous concentration of power into the hands of one man. Furthermore, Appius' defiant decision to stay on as sole censor after the expiry of the legally defined comminatory term would not exactly have earned him the goodwill of his fellow aristocrats.

¹⁷⁵ Compare also the crude record of Appius' protracted *continuatio* in *Auct. Vir. Ill.* 34.8: *Censuram solus omnium quinquennio obtinuit*. In this respect, it is well worth pointing out that in his summary of the (rationale for the) vote of the Aemilian Law, Livy is primarily preoccupied with the contention that quinquennial tenure of great power posed a serious threat to the liberty of the Roman People — see esp. IV 23.3-5: «He [i.e., the dictator Mam. Aemilius Mamercinus in 434 BCE] therefore laid his plans to weaken the censorship, either thinking its powers excessive, or troubled less by the greatness of the office than by its long duration. So, calling an assembly, he said that the immortal gods had undertaken to manage the foreign relations of the Republic and to make everything safe: he himself would do what needed to be done within the City, and would defend the liberty of the Roman People. Now the greatest safeguard was that great powers (*magna imperia*) should not be long-continued, but that a limit of time should be imposed on them, since no limit of jurisdiction could be. Other magistrates were annual, the censorship quinquennial. It was a serious matter for the same man to have authority over people for so many years in a great part of their affairs. He announced that he would carry a law that the censorship might not last longer than a year and a half.»

measures against the latter. In light of the above, there is every indication that Sosius had wanted the Senate to denounce publicly Octavianus' continued tenure of the triumvirate well past completion of its commission as well as to demand his immediate compliance with customary procedure, probably urging M. Antonius to return to Rome and do the same¹⁷⁶. Especially since Caesar Octavianus himself accused Antonius of tyrannous continuation in 32 and 31¹⁷⁷, he had every possible interest in obscuring his own continuation of the triumvirate as much as possible, both before and after the decisive battle of Actium and the conquest of Egypt¹⁷⁸.

At all events, Caesar Octavianus' claim that he had held the triumvirate for ten consecutive years betrays his profound anxiety to reconcile history with legitimacy¹⁷⁹. In 43 and again, albeit somewhat belatedly, in 37, the triumvirs had granted themselves two generous five-year terms for the completion of their admittedly enormous assignment. The fact that he had really been triumvir for a period of time equivalent to another,

¹⁷⁶ On the understanding that the consul probably demanded that Octavianus abdicate his triumvirate, and not just its powers, RODDAZ (2003), p. 407 rightly suggests that «c'est très probablement l'abandon de ces pouvoirs que les consuls, et tout particulièrement Sosius, voulaient exiger d'Octavien au début de l'année 32, avec les conséquences et le succès que l'on sait.» The events of January 32 are also quite interesting in that they give us some insight into the scope of the edict of 36 by which Octavianus had authorized the annual magistrates to administer public affairs in many respects in accordance with ancestral custom (cf. App., *B.C.* V 132, supra). As Dio's record in L 2.4-5 clearly indicates that Octavianus had not been in Rome at the time of this incident, it seems as if the consuls had been allowed to resume some noticeable aspects of their traditional role as Rome's heads of state, at the very least in the absence of the triumvirs. Such arrangement would obviously not detract from the triumvirs' overriding powers and did not imply the full restoration of consular supremacy in the Republic. On the contrary, Octavianus' calculated attempt to conceal the flight of the consuls by declaring «that he had sent them away voluntarily, hoping that it might not be thought that they had abandoned him because of some wrong-doing on his part» demonstrates his continuing official superiority in the state hierarchy as triumvir *r.p.c.*

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Livy, *Per.* 132 (supra) and Dio L 2.3-5: first Sosius and next Octavianus made many accusations against one another at the outset of 32. It should not be doubted that Caesar Octavianus in his turn accused M. Antonius of refusing to return to Rome for the purpose of abdicating his triumvirate. In XLIX 41.4-5 Dio also records that, in January 32, Octavianus had vainly urged the consuls (finally) to publish M. Antonius' official requests for the People to ratify his generous gifts of lands to Cleopatra's children.

¹⁷⁸ *Contra* SYME, who in his generally merciless exposure of Augustus and his regime of 1939 quite remarkably avers (in n. 7 of p. 277) that «the statement and attitude of Octavianus is perfectly clear: he had been Triumvir for ten years (*Res Gestae* 7). A master in all the arts of political fraud did not need to stoop to trivial and pointless deception.»

¹⁷⁹ A concept related to, yet distinct from, the matter of legality.

unauthorized *quinquennium* simply ran counter to constitutional propriety, regardless of the circumstances¹⁸⁰. While not technically illegal¹⁸¹, his protracted continuation past the second five-year term represented a twofold breach of customary procedures as it ignored the age-long obligation for extraordinary magistrates to abdicate upon completion of their officially defined task(s) as well as the requirement by all means to avoid *continuatio* beyond the customary or statutory *tempus*. Therefore, it was wholly incompatible with the image and message he had wished to convey ever since 36: that of the absolute champion of Rome's time-honoured moral, political, institutional and religious traditions. Even the pretext of war against long-moribund Ptolemaic Egypt was debatable in that he could have perfectly waged it as consul from 31, by vote of *SPQR* and with or without special empowerments. By creating the deceitful impression that the triumviral *tempus* was the five-year equivalent of the consular tenure, he obscured its comminatory, task-defined nature. Outright obfuscation of his *continuatio* of the triumvirate after 32, then, was his answer to the problem of the second infringement¹⁸². In that final year of their second quinquennial term, both Caesar and Antonius had already covered their backs by arming themselves with an unprecedented series of military oaths of allegiance¹⁸³. From January 31 onward, Caesar Octavianus scrupulously avoided being named triumvir in public documents, the emphasis now being invariably on his specious nomenclature, his consecutive consulships and his steadily growing

¹⁸⁰ Although *de facto* and even *de iure* the triumvirs were very much in a position to do as they saw fit, Appian on several occasions records their concern about the imminent expiry of the (first) *tempus legitimum*: *B.C.* V 13, 15 & 43.

¹⁸¹ In this respect and for very different reasons, I therefore subscribe to GIRARDET's conclusion in (1995) 153 that «Oktavian hat sich, aus welcher Perspektive man seinen Status seit November 43 v.Chr. auch betrachten und welchen gesetzlichen Endtermin des Triumvirats man auch annehmen mag, zu keinem Zeitpunkt in der Illegalität befunden», and his repeated claims (cf. [1990a] 326 & 339-340; and [1995] 151) that at no point in 37 or 32 (and, for that matter, 31, 30, 29, 28 and 27) he had committed a putsh, at least not so in terms of public law.

¹⁸² BRUNT & MOORE (1970) 48 assert that if the view that the second triumviral *quinquennium* ran until the last day of 32, Augustus' statement in *R.G.* 7.1 that he had held the triumvirate for ten consecutive years «is not only untruthful but a purposeless lie, since the facts would have been well known to his readers.» In my opinion, this view has to be qualified in that this — not wholly untruthful — statement and the very way Caesar Octavianus and then Caesar Augustus handled this problem were not at all purposeless. On the contrary, the decision to represent things as they are in the official Augustan records was driven by the logic of legitimacy.

¹⁸³ Dio L 6.6 & *Res Gestae* 25.2-3 (*infra*).

number of imperial acclamations. After the capture of Alexandria in 30, when his exclusive tenure of the triumvirate had become uncomfortably awkward, Caesar Octavianus insisted that his now monarchical position was forced upon him *per consensum uniuersorum*¹⁸⁴. After having taken a range of notable and widely publicized measures to restore constitutional normality throughout 28, he boastfully claimed to have benevolently, and voluntarily, returned the Republic to *SPQR* on 13 January 27.

5. CONCLUSION: A SIMPLE PLAN

After the official outbreak of war early in 32 rendered most, if not all, previously planned arrangements for 31 and after null and void, Caesar Octavianus and his associates concocted a simple plan to maintain and further consolidate his supremacy in the Roman world, namely a low-profile continuation of the plenipotentiary triumvirate *r.p.c.* combined with a sustained, much publicized iteration of the consulship and due emphasis on his growing number of imperial salutations¹⁸⁵. M. Antonius and his

¹⁸⁴ It is especially his continuation as sole triumvir after Alexandria which reveals its true purpose: Emperor Caesar's undying resolve to keep lording it over the Republic and its expanding empire. As for the nature of the so-called *consensus uniuersorum* as it emerged after Actium and Alexandria, RIDLEY (2003) 222 rejects the idea of «a particular event which expressed consensus», arguing that «it was simply the exhaustion of the Roman world at the end of continuous civil war (44-31) when it found itself confronted with the surviving warlord. The untold numbers of his opponents who had perished fighting against him testify that any 'consensus' was not a declaration of positive support by the whole Roman world, as he wishes us to believe, but the silence of the exterminated opposition.» Compare also BRUNT & MOORE (1970) 76: «Augustus is not concerned here with the legal basis of his power and is saying either that after crushing Antony he acquired absolute control de facto with all men's approval, or more probably that on the eve of the great surrender he was in complete control of the state». Although Brunt & Moore and Ridley are right in that there probably was no single act expressing *consensus uniuersorum* and that people across the Empire had little choice but to cheer the new monarch, Augustus in his *Res Gestae* may have simply labelled the honours and showings of support that poured in from every corner after his decisive victories in 31/30 (comp., e.g., Dio LI 4.4-5; LI 19; LI 20.3-4 & 21.1-4) as the spontaneous and universal expression of the new consensus. Certain passages in his abdication speech of 13 January 27 strongly suggest that Caesar Octavianus had first made this pretentious and trend-setting claim on the very day he became Caesar Augustus: see Dio LIII 4.1-2 & 8.1-2. That, at least in the immediate aftermath of Actium and Alexandria, this *consensus* was not as universal as Augustus had wanted posterity to believe, is painfully obvious from, for example, Dio LI 5.1 (30 BCE) & LII 42.8 (29 BCE).

¹⁸⁵ Comp. also GRENADE (1961) 30: «Mais, à partir de 32, Octave infléchit sa titulature dans le sens républicain et autant il inscrit avec soin dans les derniers documents de

counsellors decided on precisely the same plan of action, viz. for him to stay in office until after the war and the subsequent restitution of the Republic in its immediate aftermath. In sharp contradiction to Caesar Octavianus, however, Antonius publicly announced his continuation, *rei publicae causa*, staging it as a sensational propaganda stunt. Contrary to Antonius' high hopes¹⁸⁶, it was suicide, not victory and pompous abdication, that finally put an end to his tenure as triumvir in August 30, still almost two years past the second triumviral *quinquennium*. Since only in the censorial college was there a religious requirement for the survivor to abdicate immediately in the event of a colleague dying in office¹⁸⁷, Caesar Octavianus now continued as the Republic's sole triumvir *r.p.c.* until his theatrical abdication of January 27.

John Rich and Jonathan Williams have demonstrated that Augustus' statement in *Res Gestae* 34.1 — namely that his transfer of the *Res Publica* to the *arbitrium* of the Senate and the People took place in his sixth and seventh consulships — should not be called to question, however short-lived this obvious farce. It is, however, equally important to recognize finally, and plainly, the historical fact that from the expiry of the second triumviral *quinquennium* on the first of January 31 to his theatrical abdication in January 27, Imperator Caesar Divi f. unrelentingly clung to the triumvirate *r.p.c.* The results of this inquiry thus confirm P. Cartledge's cautious suggestion that Augustus «had continued to act as triumvir down to 28.» In an inspiring article from 1975, Cartledge indeed revived the hypothesis that, regardless of the seemingly insurmountable obstacle posed by Augustus' own statement in *R.G.* 7.1 (cf. supra), «it was as triumvir in fact if not in name that Augustus was 'potitus rerum omnium' and had the *res publica* in his 'potestas' [cf. *R.G.* 34.1]»¹⁸⁸.

Rhosos son troisième consulat et la mention de consul désigné pour la quatrième fois, autant il dissimule le titre triumviral pour endormir les soupçons et désarmer les malveillances. Les monnaies parlent le même langage que les inscriptions. Octave a donc brandi le titre de consul — *consulem se ferens* — sans cesser de détenir la puissance triumvirale qui fait de lui le véritable maître de l'État.»

¹⁸⁶ Dio L 7.2-3.

¹⁸⁷ See, e.g., Livy IX 34.17-21.

¹⁸⁸ CARTLEDGE (1975) 32-33. Like Th. Mommsen, U. Coli and P. Grenade before him, Cartledge indicates that «Antony continued to call himself triumvir after the formal lapse of triumviral *imperium* at the end of 33», and goes on to explain that, «there are other pieces of evidence which cumulatively tell against this bald statement [viz. the aforementioned one in *R.G.* 7.1]. In 32 Augustus took his seat in the Senate between the (Antonian) consuls; in 31, if the simplest emendation is adopted, he issued an edict on the veterans as triumvir; in 30 he recommended one Seleucus in language and tone appropriate to a monarch; and in 28 an Etruscan lapicide thought Augustus was still triumvir. If the suggestion

In light of the above analysis, there is every indication that Grenade and Cartledge are very much in the right and that Mommsen and Coli had no reason to stop short from taking a clear and unambiguous position on this matter, so leaving room for needless doubt and hapless conjecture about Caesar Octavianus' official position from January 31 to January 27. Regardless of what Augustus wanted us to believe, the unvarnished truth is that Imperator Caesar son of the Deified Iulius, *triumvirum rei publicae constituendae fuit per continuos annos circiter quindecim*. Therefore, his claim in the *Res Gestae* at best accounts for misguiding economy with the truth, at worst for a prime example of Augustan ambiguity and deceitfulness¹⁸⁹. Although Augustus' statement was not a blatant lie, since he had indeed been triumvir for ten consecutive years¹⁹⁰, it most definitely was not the whole truth either¹⁹¹.

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that Augustus continued to be triumvir after 33 is accepted, the Dio and Tacitus passages immediately fall into place: he cancelled his (illegal) triumviral *acta* with effect from 27, because thereafter he would cease to be triumvir in any sense.» Nonetheless, the suggestions that the explanation of why Octavianus acted in 28 as he did must be sought for in «the aftermath of the formal lapse of triumviral *imperium*», and that «It is my contention that Augustus, having elected to exercise triumviral power after 33, would have continued to do so (no doubt with some modifications), if he had not been compelled by the concern of others to rethink his position», still indicate some (unwarranted) doubt. The suggestion that Antonius and Octavianus continued as triumvirs after «the formal lapse of triumviral *imperium*» is, of course, somewhat contradictory, since lapse of *imperium* by definition meant lapse of the office by which it is exercised. *Per litteras*, Professor Cartledge, who was so kind as to provide me with a copy of this interesting article, advises to be greatly obliged to the work of C.E. Stevens (1905-1976), formerly *Lecturer and Tutor in Ancient History* at the University of Oxford for the views expressed in this paper.

¹⁸⁹ CARTLEDGE (1975) 31 rightly claims that «Augustus' *Res Gestae* (RG) is in a class by itself, a monument to towering ambition — and artful deception.» On p. 38, Cartledge makes the discerning observation that «at the time of Actium the seal-device Augustus most employed was a sphinx (Dio li 3.6) and that three and a half centuries after his death the emperor Julian, who was not a stupid man, could not decide whether Augustus had been a philosopher — or a chameleon (Satires 309A-C).» For a stinging attack on the *Res Gestae* as the prototype of a mendacious political testament, see RIDLEY (2003).

¹⁹⁰ *Contra* RIDLEY (2003) 172-177, who lists Augustus' claim to have been triumvir *r.p.c.* for ten consecutive years amongst his lies. Ridley is, however, absolutely right to emphasize that R.G. 7.1 «is another case where one word is vital: here 'successive' (*continuos*).»

¹⁹¹ Comp. also GRENADE (1961) 41: «En limitant à dix ans la durée de son triumvirat, Auguste a recouvert cette réalité d'un vernis illusoire et substitué à une évidence d'ordre juridique une vérité d'ordre politique qui découlait des thèmes de sa propagande ultérieure. Sculptant sa statue pour la postérité, il n'a pas voulu déformer l'ébauche qu'il avait faite

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de lui-même pour gagner l'opinion à sa cause et déconsidérer son rival.» Although his double dealings with Cleopatra (Dio LI 6.6 & 8.4-5) can be excused as a stratagem, the fact that he authorized (and equipped) Agrippa and Maecenas to read beforehand his official correspondence, and change whatever they wished in them as circumstances demanded (Dio LI 3.5-7), is indicative of how Octavianus/Augustus had systematically turned the art of manipulation and deceit into one of his hallmark political methods.

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LA *GENS* CAEIONIA: ÉTUDE PROSOPOGRAPHIQUE ET RÉFLEXIONS SUR LA CONVERSION D'UNE FAMILLE ARISTOCRATIQUE*

Abstract: Dans cette étude qui se présente en deux parties, nous souhaitons revenir sur la conversion au christianisme de la gens Caeionia. Cette illustre famille romaine peut être suivie sur six générations au moins, entre le début du III^{ème} siècle et le milieu du V^{ème} siècle ap. J.-C. Ceci nous a permis d'établir un arbre généalogique complet. Après une première partie prosopographique dans laquelle est présenté chaque membre de cette famille, son noyau familial, sa carrière politique et surtout son orientation religieuse, nous abordons la question de la conversion à travers une série de réflexions fondamentales: de quelle manière s'est opérée la conversion, combien de temps a-t-elle nécessité et qui en furent les principaux instigateurs? Quels moyens ont-ils mis en œuvre pour tenter de convertir leurs proches? Quelle fut la place des femmes dans ce débat, et qu'en est-il des mariages mixtes ainsi que de l'éducation religieuse des enfants? Pour terminer, nous avons tenté de définir le climat religieux de cette période: la conversion s'est-elle opérée sans heurts ou au contraire pouvons-nous déceler des conflits familiaux?

La *gens* Caeionia est l'une des grandes familles romaines de rang sénatorial que nous connaissons par le biais de nombreux documents tant littéraires qu'épigraphiques. Différents membres, masculins et féminins, se sont illustrés à Rome et en province par leurs actions, leur carrière ou leurs pratiques religieuses, en particulier du début du III^{ème} siècle ap. J.-C. au milieu du V^{ème} s. ap. J.-C. Tous ces personnages sont déjà connus et ont fait l'objet d'une notice prosopographique¹ et parfois même d'une

* L'idée de cette étude est née lors de la préparation de mon mémoire de licence présenté à l'Université de Lausanne en septembre 2005, et qui était consacré aux inscriptions de la Mère des dieux à Rome. Ce corpus avait mis en évidence plusieurs autels tauroboliques érigés par les membres — masculins et féminins — d'une même famille: les *Caeionii*. De cette *gens* sont également issues quelques figures féminines chrétiennes qui se sont particulièrement illustrées durant le Bas-Empire. J'ai souhaité développer dans une étude plus précise les relations entretenues entre les membres païens et les membres chrétiens issus de cette même famille et réfléchir sur la manière dont la conversion s'était opérée.

Je remercie vivement Philippe Borgeaud ainsi que Francesca Prescendi (Genève) et Regula Frei-Stolba (Lausanne) pour leurs suggestions, leurs critiques et leur aide dans la réalisation de ce travail.

¹ *PIR*², *PLRE* I, *PLRE* II, *PCBE* I, *PCBE* II et bien entendu les études d'O. SEECK dans la *RE*, s.v. *Ceionius*, col. 1858-1866.

étude plus particulière. André Chastagnol s'est notamment penché sur plusieurs membres de cette *gens*². Toutefois, ces recherches demeurent centrées sur un seul personnage ou éventuellement un noyau familial et c'est essentiellement la carrière politique des représentants masculins qui a intéressé les historiens modernes, ainsi que quelques figures féminines chrétiennes exemplaires. À travers cette étude, nous souhaitons revenir sur la conversion de cette illustre famille dès l'apparition des premiers signes du christianisme. En effet, la *gens* Caeionia nous paraît fournir une étude de cas intéressante non seulement car elle évolua à Rome durant la période qui vit la fin du paganisme comme religion d'État et l'établissement du christianisme à sa place, mais également car nous pouvons reconstituer un arbre généalogique presque complet sur plusieurs générations et avec plusieurs dizaines d'entrées. Nous essayerons de mettre en évidence les nombreux personnages ayant appartenu à cette lignée et qui influencèrent durablement leurs contemporains. Nous tenterons également de dégager les moyens d'action mis en œuvre par les partisans païens d'un côté, et les partisans chrétiens de l'autre afin de défendre leurs choix, de s'insérer dans la société de leur temps, de convertir leurs proches et leurs parents et d'imposer des modèles de vies exemplaires.

Plusieurs questions seront abordées dans la perspective du conflit religieux : de quelle manière se réalisa la conversion de cette famille, qui en furent les principaux instigateurs et quelle fut la place des femmes dans ce débat ? Combien de générations furent nécessaires pour convertir l'ensemble de la famille ? Pouvons-nous déceler des membres plus actifs et « engagés » qui se démarquèrent et firent « résistance » ou pressions sur leurs parents ? Les pratiques religieuses influencèrent-elles la carrière politique des sénateurs du Bas-Empire ? Enfin, les mariages mixtes entre familles païennes et chrétiennes étaient-ils autorisés, pratiqués ou au contraire favorisait-on les unions entre coreligionnaires ? Et dans le cas de mariages mixtes, que savons-nous de l'éducation religieuse des enfants : la religion de la mère primait-elle sur celle du père, ou vice-versa ?

Nous débiterons cette recherche avec C. Caeionius Rufius Volusianus (III^{ème}/IV^{ème} s. ap. J.-C.) même si la *gens* Caeionia est attestée auparavant, sans doute déjà sous la République. Cette famille patricienne était probablement originaire d'Étrurie et selon Rutilius Namatianus, Virgile faisait remonter son origine aux rois Rutules³. Du II^{ème} au IV^{ème} s. ap.

² CHASTAGNOL (1956); CHASTAGNOL (1961); CHASTAGNOL (1962); CHASTAGNOL (1966).

³ Rut. Nam. 1, 167-170.

J.-C., les *Caeionii* tissèrent des liens familiaux avec les *Nummii*, les *Fulvii*, les *Gauvii* et les *Caecinae Sabini*, mais les multiples relations et alliances entre les divers représentants sont souvent difficiles à établir, c'est pourquoi nous nous concentrerons sur la branche principale de cette *gens*⁴.

C. CAEIONIUS RUFIVS VOLUSIANUS (N° 1 DANS NOTRE ARBRE GÉNÉALOGIQUE)

C. Caeionius Rufius Volusianus⁵ naquit entre 246 et 249 ap. J.-C. Il réalisa une longue et brillante carrière sénatoriale qui s'étend sur les règnes de plusieurs empereurs, de Probus (276) à Maxence (312). Nous pouvons reconstituer son *cursus honorum* grâce à de nombreux documents littéraires, juridiques et épigraphiques⁶. Il fut *corrector* d'Italie durant huit ans⁷, proconsul d'Afrique — ceci juste avant l'expédition de Maxence (soit en 305-306 soit en 306-307) —, puis préfet du prétoire de 309 à 310, et préfet de la Ville du 28 octobre 310 au 28 octobre 311⁸. Il fut ensuite consul suffect la même année durant le mois de septembre 311⁹. À la fin de l'année 312 ou en 313, il fut *comes* de Constantin et sa carrière se poursuivit par une seconde préfecture de la Ville (du 8 décembre 313 au 20 août 315), et en même temps, en 314, par un second consulat (ordinaire cette fois). Toujours en 314, Volusianus fut désigné *iudex sacrarum cognitionum*¹⁰, et en 321 il exerça une nouvelle fois la préfecture du prétoire.

⁴ Sur ces liens et l'identification des branches de la famille cf. SEECK, *RE* III 1861ss; auquel s'oppose CHASTAGNOL (1962) 86; voir également CHRISTOL (1986) 216-218; SYME (1971) 32, 68-69; ARNHEIM (1972).

⁵ *RE* III 1859 (*Caeionius* 17 et 18); *PIR*¹ III, n° 117; CHASTAGNOL (1962), n° 20 et n° 25; *PLRE* I 976-978 (*Volusianus* 4).

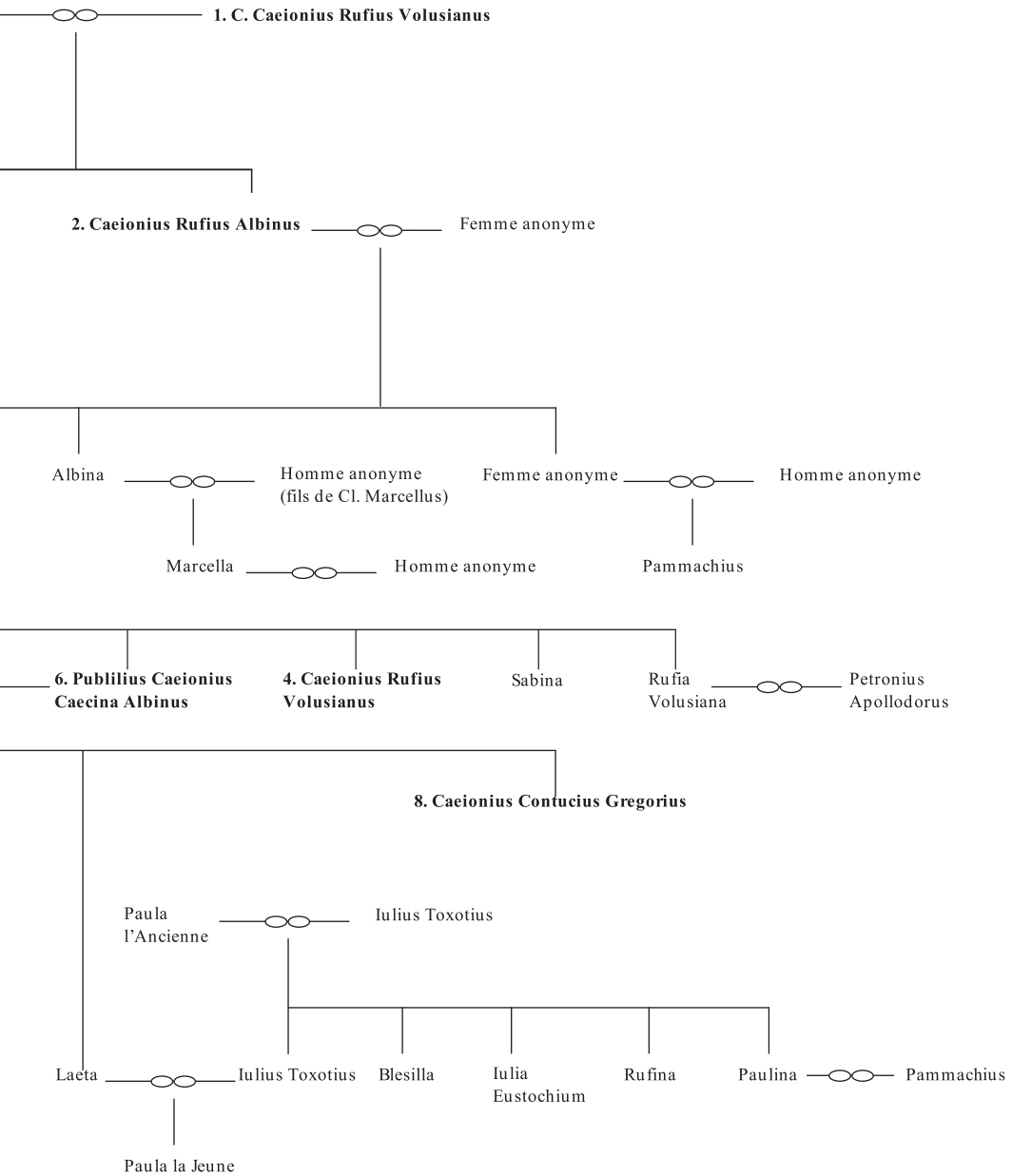
⁶ Zos. II 14.2; Aur. Vict., *Caes.* 40,18; *Cod. Theod.* V 8.1; I 36.2; XIII 3.1 et 5.1; *Cod. Iust.* XII 1.2; IV 35.21; *CIL* VI 1140, 1707; *CIL* X 1655.

⁷ La correcture d'Italie devrait se situer entre 281/283 et 289/291 ap. J.-C. Cf. en particulier *CIL* VI 1707 et *CIL* X 1655. Sur le titre de *corrector Italiae*, nous renvoyons à CLEMENTE (1969), qui s'arrête par ailleurs sur notre personnage, sur les difficultés liées à son indetification et sur son *cursus honorum*.

⁸ *Chronogr. a.* 354, p. 67.

⁹ *Chronogr. a.* 354, p. 231, avec comme collègue Aradius Rufinus. CHRISTOL (1986) 123 est d'avis que notre personnage revêtit le consulat suffect avant 283 ap. J.-C.

¹⁰ Juge à qui l'empereur pouvait déléguer le jugement de procès en appel. Cette charge n'est attestée qu'à partir du III^{ème} s. ap. J.-C., et depuis Constantin, ce juge porte le titre de *uice sacra iudicans* ou de *iudex sacrarum cognitionum* qu'il ajoute à sa charge administrative supérieure. En ce qui concerne Volusianus, cette fonction est attestée par les deux



Volusianus épousa une femme dont nous ignorons le nom. Ils eurent deux enfants: une fille elle aussi anonyme et un fils nommé Caecionius Rufius Albinus. Nous ne savons rien des pratiques religieuses de Volusianus ni de son épouse. Leur fille épousa Caecina Sabinus, fils d'Antonius Caecina Sabinus (consul en 316), et de cette union naquirent deux garçons: Postumianus et Rufius Caecionius Sabinus. Nous ne savons rien de la fille de Volusianus, en revanche nous possédons quelques renseignements au sujet de son époux et de leurs deux enfants. Caecina Sabinus¹¹ et son fils Rufius Caecionius Sabinus¹² sont mentionnés conjointement sur un autel taurobolique érigé à Rome le 12 mars 377 ap. J.-C.¹³. Ce document, bien que fragmentaire, nous apprend que Caecina Sabinus fut un avocat ainsi qu'un fidèle des cultes de Mithra, de la Mère des dieux et d'Hécate. Pour sa part, son fils célébrait son initiation taurobolique, tout en rappelant qu'il fut pontife majeur¹⁴, hiérophante d'Hécate, augure et «père» dans le culte de Mithra.

Postumianus¹⁵, le fils cadet de Caecina Sabinus et de la fille de Volusianus, fut un avocat comme son père¹⁶. Selon Symmaque, il fut membre d'une ambassade de *uirii illustres* envoyée à la cour de Milan en 395 afin d'y débattre d'une question importante relative à une pénurie de blé¹⁷. Postumianus comptait parmi ses amis Vettius Agorius Praetextatus ainsi que Libanios avec lequel il correspondait¹⁸. Macrobe et Libanios laissent

documents épigraphiques provenant de Rome (*CIL* VI 1140 et 1707). Voir à ce propos CHRISTOL (1986) 267.

¹¹ *PLRE* I 792 (*Sabinus* 11).

¹² *PLRE* I 793 (*Sabinus* 13).

¹³ *CIL* VI 511.

¹⁴ Le *pontifex maior* désigne l'un des membres du premier des quatre grands collèges sacerdotaux. Ce titre apparaît à partir de 274 ap. J.-C. suite à la réforme religieuse entreprise par Aurélien (en 285 selon *ThesCRA* vol. V, p. 71), lorsque celui-ci institua le collège des pontifes du dieu Sol. Dès lors, les pontifes rattachés au collège de Sol furent appelés *pontifices dei Solis*, et les membres de l'ancien collège pontifical furent désignés sous le titre de *pontifices maior*. Voir à ce sujet CHRISTOL (1986) 167-168.

¹⁵ *PLRE* I 718-719 (*Postumianus* 3); cf. CHASTAGNOL (1961) 749-751.

¹⁶ Macrobe le décrit comme quelqu'un de très occupé par sa profession et dont les plaidoyers «ennoblissaient le Forum» (*Sat.* I 2.1).

¹⁷ Symm., *Epist.* VI 22 et IV 52.3. Au départ, cette ambassade comptait deux hauts dignitaires de la cour accompagnés de Postumianus et de Pinien (il ne s'agit pas de l'époux de Mélanie la Jeune que nous retrouverons plus loin, mais de son oncle paternel).

¹⁸ Lib., *Ep.* 1036.9 (éd. Förster, t. XI, p. 162). Dans cette lettre, Libanios répond aux condoléances que Postumianus lui avait adressées à l'occasion de la mort de son fils Cimon. Il ressort de cette lettre que Libanios avait une grande admiration pour son ami qu'il désigne comme étant le «premier des Romains». Il le décrit comme un grand orateur, capable de lire et de s'exprimer en latin comme en grec, et dont les discours étaient «nombreux et beaux». Il rappelle que le grand-père de Postumianus fut consul en 314. Il

entendre que Postumianus restait fidèle aux anciens cultes¹⁹. Nous ignorons s'il se maria et s'assura une descendance.

CAEIONIUS RUFIIUS ALBINUS (n° 2)

Poursuivons notre étude avec Caecionius Rufius Albinus²⁰, fils de C. Caecionius Rufius Volusianus. Le *cursus honorum* de ce sénateur nous échappe en grande partie et seules ses charges supérieures sont attestées: Albinus fut consul en 335 avec pour collègue Flavius Iulius Constantinus (le frère de Constantin), et il exerça la préfecture de la Ville du 30 décembre 335 au 10 mars 337²¹.

Il épousa une femme dont nous n'avons pas conservé le nom, et de cette union naquirent trois enfants: C. Caecionius Rufius Volusianus Lampadius, Albina et une seconde fille qui demeure elle aussi anonyme. En ce qui concerne les pratiques religieuses d'Albinus et de son épouse, nous ne possédons aucun renseignement. En revanche, nous sommes mieux documenté sur leurs enfants.

ALBINA, MARCELLA ET PAMMACHIUS

Albina²², fille d'Albinus, naquit aux alentours de 318 et mourut vers 387²³. Elle épousa un homme dont nous ignorons le nom, mais qui était

lui souhaite de devenir gouverneur, fonction exercée autrefois par son oncle à Antioche. Lorsque Libanios rédige cette épître, Postumianus se trouve à Athènes où il élève le fils de son oncle. Nous ignorons à quel oncle et à quelle branche de la famille Libanios fait référence. À notre connaissance, Postumianus avait un oncle maternel nommé Caecionius Rufius Albinus, et un oncle paternel homonyme (*PLRE* I 718 [*Postumianus* 1]) qui n'est autre que le père de Caecinia Lolliana sur laquelle nous reviendrons ultérieurement.

¹⁹ Macr., *Sat.* I 1.7; I 2.1; I 5.13; Lib., *Ep.* 1036.9.

²⁰ *RE* III 1860 (*Caeionius* 21); *PLRE* I 37 (*Albinus* 14); CHASTAGNOL (1962) n° 39.

²¹ Sur son *cursus honorum*: *CIL* VI 1708 (= 31906) qui a fait l'objet d'une étude de la part de SEECK (1884). L'auteur en propose une interprétation acceptée par CHASTAGNOL (1962) 93. Selon Seeck, pendant sa préfecture de la Ville, Albinus aurait adressé à l'empereur une *relatio* préfectorale lui demandant d'octroyer au Sénat le droit d'élire directement les questeurs et les consuls suffects. En remerciement de son action, Albinus fut honoré par une inscription dans laquelle il est désigné comme *philosophus*.

Sur son consulat: *ICVR* I 41; *P. Oxy.* X 1206, 1265, 1470; *P. Wien* I 247.20. Sur sa préfecture de la Ville: *Chronogr. a.* 354, p. 68.

²² *PLRE* I 32 (*Albina* 1); *PCBE* II 74-75 (*Albina* 1).

²³ La date de sa mort n'est pas connue avec certitude, mais Jérôme fait son éloge dans sa préface du *Commentaire de l'Épître aux Galates*. Cette œuvre est approximativement datée de 387/389, ce qui nous autorise à placer le décès d'Albina peu auparavant.

sans doute le fils de Claudius Marcellus²⁴ (préfet de la Ville en 292). De ce mariage naquit une fille²⁵ nommée Marcella dont nous situons la naissance au plus tard en 330²⁶. La correspondance de Jérôme nous apprend qu'Albina s'était convertie au christianisme et qu'elle avait élevé sa fille dans la nouvelle foi²⁷. Sur Marcella, nous possédons de nombreux détails transmis encore une fois par la correspondance de Jérôme. En effet, celui-ci fut le conseiller spirituel de Marcella et il échangea avec elle une importante correspondance. Il est d'ailleurs l'auteur de son éloge funèbre²⁸. Marcella fut mariée à un homme dont nous ignorons le nom et qui mourut peu après leur union²⁹. Albina insista auprès de sa fille pour qu'elle accepte une seconde union avec Naeratus Cerealis³⁰, un riche sénateur, mais Marcella refusa, préférant mener une vie ascétique et consacrée à la prière³¹. Jérôme précise que malgré ce refus Marcella était

²⁴ *PLRE* I 552 (*Marcellus* 10).

²⁵ Certaines sources font mention d'une seconde fille d'Albina: Asella, l'une des correspondantes de Jérôme. Cette parenté est mise en doute par de nombreux spécialistes qui supposent une simple filiation spirituelle. En effet, ce type de «parenté» se révèle assez fréquente dans le milieu chrétien (voir en particulier ci-après la filiation spirituelle de Principia envers Marcella ou encore celle de Jérôme envers Albina). Sur Asella *PLRE* I 117 (*Asella* 1); *PCBE* II 199-200 (*Asella* 1). Voir également Hier., *epist.* 24.1-4, 45.7, 65; et Pallad., *hist. laus.* 41.4. Sur la base de ces sources, nous nous proposons d'exclure Asella de la *gens* Caeionia.

²⁶ *PLRE* I 542-543 (*Marcella* 2); *PCBE* II 1357-1362 (*Marcella* 1). Voir également LAURENCE (1996).

²⁷ Les épîtres 32, 45 et 127 de Jérôme traitent plus particulièrement d'Albina. Jérôme la décrit comme une excellente chrétienne et une mère modèle, s'appropriant presque une filiation: 32.2: *Albinam communem matrem ualere cupio* – (...) – *eamque per te salutari obsecro, et duplici pietatis officio focialari, quo in una atque eadem christiana simul diligatur et mater* («À Albine, notre commune mère, je souhaite bonne santé – (...) – je te prie de la saluer de ma part, et de la réconforter d'un double hommage d'affection, puisqu'en une seule et même personne, on aime tout ensemble une chrétienne et une mère»); 45.7 *Saluta Paulam et Eustochium* – (...) – *saluta matrem Albinam sororesque Marcellas, Marcellinam quoque et sanctam Felicitatem* («Salue Paule et Eustochie – (...) – salue Albine, ma mère, mes sœurs les Marcelles, et aussi Marcelline, ainsi que sainte Félicité»). Ces traductions ainsi que les suivantes sont empruntées à l'édition de J. Labourt, Les Belles Lettres, 1951-1955.

²⁸ Il s'agit de la lettre 127 qui fut envoyée à Principia, une vierge chrétienne qui vivait aux côtés de Marcella, deux ans après le décès de celle-ci. Cette épître résume la vie exemplaire de Marcella et nous apporte de nombreux détails.

²⁹ L'époux de Marcella mourut après sept mois de mariage, et à ce moment, elle avait déjà perdu son père. Malheureusement, Jérôme ne nous donne pas le nom de ces deux hommes qui resteront par conséquent anonymes.

³⁰ *PLRE* I 197-198 (*Cerealis*).

³¹ Hier., *epist.* 127: Jérôme loue Marcella en mettant en lumière ses actions de «chrétienne». Selon lui, elle ne se montrait que rarement en public et toujours accompagnée soit de sa mère, soit d'autres femmes chrétiennes dont la moralité ne pouvait être mise en

toute dévouée à sa mère et il cite à ce propos un exemple intéressant: il semblerait qu'Albina se soit préoccupée de l'héritage familial. Etant donné que sa fille n'avait pas d'enfant, elle souhaitait que sa fortune retourne à son frère, Lampadius, sur lequel nous reviendrons un peu plus loin et qui s'était assuré une descendance. Selon Jérôme, Marcella aurait préféré faire don de cet argent aux pauvres, néanmoins elle se soumit à la volonté de sa mère: elle céda donc à ses proches parents tous ses bijoux et son mobilier. Ainsi, si Albina fut l'une des premières représentantes chrétiennes de cette famille, elle continua à entretenir des relations normales avec les membres de sa *gens*³². Malgré sa conversion elle ne semble pas avoir renié ses origines ni sa famille, au contraire elle continua à respecter certaines traditions notamment en matière de transmission du patrimoine.

Jérôme poursuit son éloge en rappelant que Marcella encouragea activement des chrétiennes et des chrétiens à consacrer leur vie à la spiritualité monastique. Elle fut d'ailleurs l'une des premières matrones romaines à avoir adopté un genre de vie ascétique inspiré du monachisme égyptien.

Jérôme et Marcella se rencontrèrent en 382, à Rome. Marcella était alors à la tête d'un groupe de femmes partageant les mêmes convictions religieuses et elle persuada Jérôme de leur dispenser des leçons privées portant sur l'Écriture sainte³³. Ce cercle réunissait plusieurs aristocrates romaines qui voulaient comprendre le message religieux chrétien³⁴. Ces

doute. Elle fuyait les matrones païennes et le peuple. Elle fréquentait les basiliques afin d'y prier. Enfin Jérôme rappelle que bien qu'issue de l'une des plus nobles familles romaines, Marcella renia son rang et ses richesses, refusant une union profitable.

³² En revanche, elle semble avoir refusé d'entretenir des relations amicales avec des matrones romaines païennes. Nous pouvons donc déceler une hiérarchie: les premiers aristocrates chrétiens continuaient à entretenir des relations avec leurs parents païens, mais ne souhaitaient pas entretenir des liens amicaux avec des amis païens. Mais s'agit-il d'une spécificité féminine? Car comme nous le verrons un peu plus loin, l'amitié entre païens et chrétiens existait puisque Rufius Antonius Agrypnius Volusianus comptait parmi ses proches le chrétien Marcellinus.

³³ Hier., *epist.* 127.7. Ce cercle semble avoir pris la forme d'une communauté religieuse que Marcella aurait fondée dans sa propre maison. Notons que selon les propos de Jérôme, Principa vécut auprès de Marcella, ce qui pourrait en effet confirmer cette hypothèse. Si les femmes chrétiennes ne ressentirent pas le besoin de s'isoler dans le désert comme les moines ascétiques d'Égypte, elles étaient par contre enclines à former des petits groupes et à nouer des liens d'amitié. Des femmes fortunées furent à la base de ce type de groupement et jouèrent un rôle de protectrices.

³⁴ Parmi ces clarissimes mentionnons Marcella, sa mère Albina, Asella, Paula l'Anicienne et ses filles Blésilla et Iulia Eustochium et bien d'autres encore. Nous reviendrons

leçons durèrent jusqu'en 385, tout au long du séjour de Jérôme à Rome, et elles avaient lieu sur l'Aventin, dans une villa appartenant à Marcella. Selon Jérôme, toutes ces femmes parlaient parfaitement le grec et certaines apprirent même l'hébreu. Après le départ de leur maître spirituel³⁵, elles continuèrent leurs rencontres sous la tutelle de Marcella.

Jérôme nous informe encore que Marcella était devenue une «experte» en matière d'Écritures à qui l'on s'adressait en cas de difficulté ou de débat, et que de nombreuses aristocrates romaines imitèrent son comportement³⁶.

Marcella fut sans conteste une femme activement engagée qui chercha à s'instruire et à instruire ses consœurs. Elle institua des leçons de catéchisme, faisant venir un maître pour les dispenser et mettant à disposition sa propre maison et sa bibliothèque. Elle prônait un mode de vie ascétique tout en l'expérimentant sur sa propre personne. Elle s'engagea énergiquement dans la lutte contre les hérésies et prit part au débat théologique de son époque — entre Jérôme et Rufin notamment³⁷ —, ne

plus loin sur Paula l'Ancienne et ses filles (cf. *infra* n. 40 et 97 et notre arbre généalogique).

³⁵ Jérôme quitta Rome en août 385, peu de temps après la mort de son protecteur, Damase. Les enseignements qu'il avait dispensés dans la capitale au sein des cercles de femmes et surtout ses écrits très critiques envers les hommes d'église et les chrétiens de la haute société avaient soulevé diverses oppositions qui provoquèrent son renvoi. Le style de vie ascétique qu'il prônait, mais surtout l'incitation à la virginité n'étaient pas compatibles avec les mœurs romaines et nuisaient à l'institution familiale, et donc à la prospérité de l'Empire. Par la suite, Jérôme s'établit à Bethléem où il prit la direction d'un monastère financé par Paula l'Ancienne et sa fille Iulia Eustochium.

³⁶ La relation qui liait Jérôme à Marcella se prolongea après le départ de celui-ci par le biais de la correspondance, ce qui explique que le maître soit si bien informé sur son élève. À noter que même durant son séjour à Rome et malgré les rencontres régulières, Jérôme échangea une riche correspondance avec Marcella. Il avait d'ailleurs réuni et classé ces épîtres sous le titre *Ad Marcellam, epistolarum liber*. Malheureusement nous n'avons conservé que seize lettres pour la période comprise entre 384 et 385. Ce corpus illustre les interrogations de Marcella, ses doutes au sujet de la compréhension de certains termes spécifiques ou les difficultés liées à la traduction.

³⁷ Vers 400 sous le pontificat d'Anastase, Marcella fut au centre d'une controverse religieuse et devint l'une des protagonistes d'un procès qui se solda par la condamnation d'un groupe d'hérétiques. C'est encore Jérôme qui nous rapporte cette affaire qui débuta avec «l'infâme traduction du *Peri Archôn*», le *Traité des Principes* d'Origène, par Rufin d'Aquilée et qui entraîna un mouvement hérétique auquel adhérèrent plusieurs prêtres, moines et hommes en vue de la capitale. Jérôme avoue que Marcella fut «au principe de la condamnation», produisant des témoins qu'elle aurait elle-même instruits. Grâce à son action, les «coupables» furent jugés et condamnés. Sur cette affaire, cf. Hier., *epist.* 127. À noter que Pammachius, un cousin de Marcella sur lequel nous reviendrons plus loin, fut lui aussi impliqué dans cette controverse (cf. *infra* n. 43). Pour plus de détails cf. LAURENCE (1996) 282-289.

craignant pas de s'afficher publiquement. Marcella nous apparaît réellement comme une femme exceptionnelle qui a marqué les esprits de son époque et qui a servi de modèle à ses contemporaines. C'est du moins l'image que nous en a laissée Jérôme. Elle vécut toute sa vie à Rome, sans jamais visiter la Terre Sainte, n'effectuant aucun pèlerinage. Elle mourut en 410, peu après la prise de Rome.

Revenons à présent sur la seconde fille d'Albinus, c'est-à-dire la sœur anonyme d'Albina. Nous ne possédons pratiquement aucun renseignement sur elle, si ce n'est qu'elle épousa un homme également anonyme mais qui devait appartenir à la *gens* Furia. Nous ignorons quelles furent les pratiques religieuses des conjoints, même si nous pouvons soupçonner que l'un ou même les deux s'étaient convertis au christianisme. De cette union naquit un fils, Pammachius³⁸, célèbre avocat et proconsul d'Afrique (avant 396). De foi chrétienne, Pammachius fut l'ami et l'élève de Jérôme avec lequel il échangea diverses épîtres³⁹. Il épousa Paulina⁴⁰ qui mourut en couches à la fin de l'année 396, avec leur enfant⁴¹. À la suite de ce double deuil, Pammachius devint moine et s'engagea dans la vie ascétique tout en demeurant un sénateur de Rome⁴². Il fut impliqué,

³⁸ PLRE I 663 (*Pammachius*); PCBE II 1576-1581 (*Pammachius*). Sur ses origines cf. Hier., *epist.* 66.

³⁹ Hier., *epist.* 48-49, 57, 66, 84, 97; de plus Pammachius est mentionné dans les lettres: 50, 77, 85, 108, 118 et 124. À noter que la lettre 48.4 nous permet de rattacher Pammachius à la *gens* Caecilia puisque Jérôme le désigne comme le cousin de Marcella: *Transtuli nuper Iob in linguam nostram; cuius exemplar a sancta Marcella, consobrina tua, poteris mutuari* («J'ai récemment traduit Job en notre langue; tu pourras en emprunter un exemplaire à sainte Marcelle, ta cousine»).

⁴⁰ PLRE I 675 (*Paulina* 3); PCBE II 1629-1630 (*Paulina* 1). Paulina était l'une des filles de Paula l'Ancienne — l'une des aristocrates romaines qui appartenait au cercle de Marcella — et de Iulius Toxotius (cf. *infra* n. 34 et 97 et notre arbre généalogique).

⁴¹ Sur la date de la mort de Paulina, cf. Hier., *epist.* 66. Cette lettre date du printemps 398 et évoque la mort de Paulina survenue deux ans auparavant et en explique les causes (66.3). Nous apprenons que Paulina avait déjà fait de nombreuses fausses couches et qu'elle était très affaiblie. Cette dernière grossesse difficile lui fut fatale. Selon Jérôme, Paulina aurait voulu enfanter non pas dans le but de s'assurer une descendance, mais pour «enfanter des vierges au Christ» (*sed ad hoc optasse filios ut Christo uirgines pareret*). Plusieurs autres passages tirés de la correspondance de Jérôme font mention du veuvage de Pammachius: Hier., *epist.* 66.1, 66.4, 66.15, 77.1, 77.10, 108.4. Sur les donations faites par Pammachius après le décès de son épouse, cf. Paul. Nol., *epist.* 13.13 et Hier., *epist.* 66.5.

⁴² Hier., *epist.* 66.13: *Quod patricii generis primus inter primos monachus esse coepisti, non tibi sit tumoris sed humilitatis occasio, scienti filium Dei factum filium hominis* («Que le fait d'être le tout premier homme de race patricienne qui soit devenu moine ne te soit pas une occasion d'orgueil, mais bien d'humilité, car tu sais bien que le Fils de Dieu est devenu le Fils de l'Homme»).

aux côtés de sa cousine Marcella, dans la controverse suscitée par la traduction du *Peri Archôn* d'Origène par Rufin d'Aquilée⁴³. Notons également qu'il fut félicité par Augustin pour avoir favorisé la pénétration du christianisme en Numidie consulaire⁴⁴, et qu'il fut le fondateur d'une église édifiée sur le Caelius⁴⁵. Il mourut à Rome en 410, lors de l'invasion barbare après avoir légué l'ensemble de sa fortune aux pauvres⁴⁶.

C. CAEIONIUS RUFIVS VOLUSIANUS LAMPADIUS (N° 3) ET CAECINIA LOLLIANA

Passons à Lampadius, le troisième enfant de Caeionius Rufius Albinus et surtout le seul à avoir assuré la continuité de sa *gens*. C. Caeionius Rufius Volusianus Lampadius⁴⁷ naquit approximativement en 315. De nombreuses sources mentionnent ce clarissime et nous permettent de restituer son *cursus honorum* ainsi que certains détails de sa vie. Il fut préteur à une date que nous ignorons⁴⁸. En 355 (ou peut-être déjà depuis 354), il fut préfet du prétoire en Gaule⁴⁹ et en même temps, très certainement chargé des jugements en appel⁵⁰. Révoqué de ses fonctions de

Pammachius fut le premier sénateur à siéger à la curie vêtu de l'habit monacal, mais Jérôme lui reproche de ne pas s'être libéré de tous ses biens pour en faire don aux pauvres. Nous ignorons en revanche quelle fut la réaction des autres sénateurs fidèles aux anciens cultes.

⁴³ Durant l'été 398, Pammachius reçut la fameuse traduction du *Peri Archôn* d'Origène par Rufin. Troublé par cette lecture, il demanda à Jérôme une traduction littérale et annotée. Jérôme lui fit parvenir dès le printemps 399 son texte accompagné d'une lettre qui désavouait l'œuvre de Rufin. Bien que Pammachius dissimula la traduction de Rufin, craignant sa divulgation, une copie circula à Rome. Il se retrouva alors impliqué avec sa cousine Marcella dans la dispute qui opposa Jérôme à Rufin, et nous avons vu plus haut le rôle joué par Marcella dans cette controverse. Sur cette affaire du *Peri Archôn* voir: Hier., *epist.* 83, 84, 124.1; Hier., *adv. Rufin.*; Rufin., *apol. adv. Hier.* À noter que Jérôme adresse son *Apologie contre Rufin* à Marcella et à Pammachius (*Hieronymi ad Pammachium et Marcellam pro se contra accusatorem defensio*).

⁴⁴ Aug., *epist.* 58.

⁴⁵ La seule mention se trouve dans *ICVR* II, p. 150. Cette inscription, qui fut peut-être composée par le pape Léon, célèbre Pammachius *cultor fidei*. Cette église porta initialement le nom de son fondateur, *titulus Pammachi*, puis au VI^{ème} siècle elle fut, semble-t-il, rebaptisée et reçut le nom de *basilica Ioannis et Pauli* (SS. Giovanni e Paolo).

⁴⁶ Sur sa mort: Hier., *in Ezech.* 1.1; sur ses donations: Pallad., *hist. laus.* 62.

⁴⁷ *RE* III 1860-1863 (*Ceionius* 24); *PLRE* I 978-980 (*Volusianus* 5); CHASTAGNOL (1962) n° 67; FUHRMANN (1941).

⁴⁸ Amm. XXVII 3. Ammien Marcellin se plaint d'ailleurs à rappeler la somptuosité des jeux qu'il organisa durant sa magistrature.

⁴⁹ Zos. II 55.3.

⁵⁰ Plusieurs documents épigraphiques attestent que Lampadius fut *uice sacra iudicans iterum*. Il est probable qu'il occupa une première fois cette fonction durant sa préfecture du prétoire, puis une seconde fois durant sa préfecture de la Ville.

préfet pour avoir été soupçonné par l'empereur Constance II d'avoir commis un faux, il fut jugé puis acquitté⁵¹. Une dizaine d'années plus tard, Lampadius accéda à la préfecture urbaine qu'il occupa semble-t-il entre le 10 mars 365 et octobre 366⁵². Il mourut avant 402⁵³.

Lampadius épousa Caecinia Lolliana vers 345, et ils eurent plusieurs enfants⁵⁴. Six au moins sont attestés: quatre garçons, Caecionius Rufius Albinus, Lollianus, Publius Caecionius Caecina Albinus, Caecionius Rufius Volusianus; et deux filles, Sabina et Rufia Volusiana.

Avant de revenir brièvement sur chacun de ces personnages, attachons-nous sur les pratiques religieuses de Lampadius et de son épouse. Deux documents épigraphiques nous informent que Lampadius se soumit au taurobole de la Mère des dieux et qu'il fut «père» dans le culte de Mithra, hiérophante d'Hécate, prophète d'Isis et pontife du dieu Sol⁵⁵. Alors que sa sœur Albina — et peut-être même sa seconde sœur dont

⁵¹ Cette affaire est rapportée par Ammien Marcellin (XV 5.4-5): durant l'année 355, alors que Lampadius était préfet du prétoire, Silvanus aurait transmis à l'empereur des faux documents à signer. De par sa fonction, ce fut Lampadius lui-même qui remit ces documents à Constance II, peut-être en ignorant la supercherie. Lorsque celui-ci découvrit l'affaire, il révoqua Lampadius et l'historien avoue que certains hauts personnages prirent alors la défense de notre homme. Sur son jugement et son acquittement voir Amm. XV 5.13.

Sa préfecture du prétoire dura en tous les cas du 1^{er} janvier au 30 juillet 355 puisque cinq lois lui furent successivement adressées durant cette période: *Cod. Theod.* XI 34.2a (1^{er} janvier 355); *Cod. Iust.* VI 22.6 (18 février 355); *Cod. Theod.* III 12.2a (30 avril 355); XI 30.26a et 36.12a (29/30 juillet 355).

⁵² Durant sa préfecture de la Ville, huit lois lui furent adressées: *Cod. Theod.* I 6.5a (4 avril 365); XI 14.1a (8 avril 365); VI 4.18a et XII 1.67a (28 juin 365); *Cod. Iust.* VII 39.2a (24 juillet 365); *Consult.* 9.1 (10 août 365); *Cod. Theod.* XI 32.1a (3 septembre 365); *Cod. Iust.* I 19.5 (17 septembre 365). Voir également *CIL* VI 512, 794, 3866, 1170-1174. À noter qu'Ammien Marcellin (XXVII 3) porte un jugement plutôt négatif sur cette préfecture marquée par plusieurs émeutes. Une révolte en particulier vit le soulèvement du peuple romain mécontent des abus de pouvoir commis par Lampadius. L'historien précise que sa maison située près des thermes de Constantin fut presque incendiée par le peuple, et que le préfet dû se réfugier sur le pont Milvius.

⁵³ Symm., *epist.* 9.34. Dans cette lettre, antérieure à 402, Symmaque rappelle l'honorable mémoire de Lampadius.

⁵⁴ Voir *CIL* VIII 25990, plaque en marbre provenant de Bir Tersas. Selon ce texte, Lampadius et Caecinia Lolliana auraient eu quatre enfants: *filiorum cccc uuuu (quattuor clarissimorum uirosum)*. Mais en réalité, nous savons par le biais d'autres documents qu'ils en eurent six. Il est possible que le dédicataire de cette inscription n'ait souhaité honorer ici que les quatre fils, ou alors qu'au moment de l'érection de ce monument, le couple n'avait encore que quatre enfants. Sur la famille de Lampadius et Caecinia Lolliana nous renvoyons à CHASTAGNOL (1961).

⁵⁵ Son initiation au taurobole est attestée par *AE* 1945, 55 (statue figurant Attis provenant d'Ostie). À noter que Lampadius est également mentionné sur un autel taurobolique érigé par son fils homonyme (*CIL* VI 512). Sur les autres prêtrises et initiations mentionnées ici voir *CIL* VI 846 (base en marbre découverte sur l'Aventin).

nous ignorons le nom — s'était convertie au christianisme et avait élevé sa fille dans la nouvelle foi, Lampadius demeurerait fidèle au polythéisme en cumulant diverses prêtrises et initiations des cultes à mystères. Il incarnait cette aristocratie romaine qui résistait au christianisme, mais dont une partie de la famille s'était déjà convertie. Quant à savoir si cette «opposition» jetait un froid au sein même de la famille et créait des disputes ou des tensions, rien ne nous permet de l'affirmer. Au contraire, nous avons vu précédemment qu'Albina demanda expressément à sa fille chrétienne de transmettre le patrimoine familial à son oncle païen, puisqu'elle-même n'avait pas assuré la descendance de sa *gens*.

Caecinia Lolliana⁵⁶, l'épouse de Lampadius, était, semble-t-il, la fille de Postumianus⁵⁷ (lui-même fils du consul ordinaire de 316, Antonius Caecina Sabinus) et d'une femme qui paraît avoir été une sœur ou une fille de Lollianus Mavortius (consul en 355)⁵⁸. Après avoir établi ses origines et sa descendance, nos informations sur cette femme se limitent à de menus détails. Elle est mentionnée sur un autel taurobolique érigé par l'un de ses fils, Caecionius Rufius Volusianus, précisant qu'elle était *clarissima et inlustrissima femina* ainsi que *sacerdota* de la déesse Isis⁵⁹.

⁵⁶ *RE* III 1863 (*Ceionius* 25); *PLRE* I 511 (*Caecinia Lolliana*); CHASTAGNOL (1961).

⁵⁷ *PLRE* I 718 (*Postumianus* 1). Postumianus qui mourut probablement avant 366-367, était le fils d'Antonius Caecina Sabinus et le frère de Caecina Sabinus. Ce dernier avait épousé la fille anonyme de C. Caecionius Rufius Volusianus (n° 1 dans notre arbre généalogique). Ne pas confondre Postumianus avec son neveu homonyme vu précédemment, cf. *supra* n. 15 et 19.

⁵⁸ En suivant les déductions de CHASTAGNOL 1961, et avant lui de SEECK dans la *RE*, Caecinia Lolliana serait la fille de Postumianus (décédé avant 366) lui-même fils d'Antonius Caecina Sabinus (consul en 316). Chastagnol a restitué la généalogie de cette famille en se basant essentiellement sur Symm., *Rel.* 30.1. Cette source rapporte un procès intenté sous la préfecture de Symmaque (384-385) par le fisc à l'encontre des héritières d'un certain Postumianus décédé depuis quelques années déjà (et inconnu en dehors de cette attestation). L'héritage de celui-ci fut divisé en deux parts égales entre Lolliana pour une moitié, et Cattianilla et Severilla pour l'autre. Chastagnol en a déduit que Postumianus avait deux enfants, Lolliana et un second dont nous ignorons le nom et le sexe et qui devait être mort au moment de cette affaire, laissant deux filles, Cattianilla et Severilla. Celles-ci héritèrent de la part de leur géniteur, l'autre part ayant échu à leur tante, Lolliana. En réalité, un indice tiré d'une lettre de Libanios pourrait nous induire à penser que Lolliana avait un frère plutôt qu'une sœur (*Lib., Ep.* 1036, *supra* n. 18). Chastagnol a poursuivi son enquête en prouvant que le père de Lolliana, Postumianus, avait épousé une sœur (ou une fille) de Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus Mavortius, il veut pour preuve de cette filiation la nomenclature de Caecina Lolliana.

⁵⁹ *CIL* VI 512. Sur le titre *clarissima et inlustris femina* qui atteste d'un niveau hiérarchique sénatorial supérieur cf. CHASTAGNOL (1979) 27. L'auteur relève qu'il s'agit de la plus ancienne attestation d'une *inlustris femina*.

LES ENFANTS DE C. CAEIONIUS RUFIVS VOLVSIANVS LAMPADIIVS ET DE CAECINIA LOLLIANA

1. *Caecivnius Rufivs Volvsianus* (n° 4)

Le premier enfant de Lampadius et de Caecinia Lolliana, Caecivnius Rufivs Volvsianus⁶⁰, n'est connu que par un seul document épigraphique. Il s'agit de l'autel taurobolique cité précédemment, érigé le 23 mai 390 ap. J.-C.⁶¹. Cet autel commémore le renouvellement du taurobole auquel se soumit Volvsianus après vingt années⁶². L'inscription précise que Caecivnius Rufivs Volvsianus était *uir clarissimus et inlustris*, et ancien vicaire d'Asie.

2. *Lollianus* (n° 5)

Le second fils de Lampadius, Lollianus, n'est connu que par son *cognomen*⁶³. Les seules informations que nous possédons à son sujet nous sont transmises par Ammien Marcellin. Voici ce qu'écrit l'historien :

En ces jours-là, Lollianus, un jeune homme à l'âge du premier duvet, fils de l'ancien préfet Lampadius, fut convaincu d'avoir transcrit un

⁶⁰ PLRE I 976 (*Volvsianus* 3).

⁶¹ CIL VI 512. Relevons que ce document constitue à la fois l'un des derniers témoignages épigraphiques païens de Rome puisque le 24 février 391 Théodose édicta une loi prohibant définitivement les manifestations du paganisme, tout en étant l'un des deux derniers autels tauroboliques érigés dans l'*Urbs*. Le second document attestant d'un taurobole date exactement du même jour et fut érigé par le clarissime Lucius Ragonius Venustus (CIL VI 503).

⁶² Sur le taurobole et son renouvellement voir BORGEAUD (1996) 156-168; GRILLOT (1912) 172-173; DUTHOY (1969) 104-105. Quatre documents épigraphiques provenant de Rome pourraient mentionner un renouvellement du taurobole : CIL VI 502, 504, 512 et AE 1923, 29. Seules CIL VI 504 et 512 mentionnent un laps de temps de 20 ans ; quant à l'inscription CIL VI 502, elle se limite à l'expression *taurobolio criobolioque repetito*. Le dernier témoignage quant à lui est énigmatique et a fait l'objet de diverses interprétations résumées chez GUARDUCCI (1982) 109-122.

Si l'on admet que le taurobole pouvait être renouvelé vingt ans après la première initiation, et étant donné que l'autel taurobolique de Volvsianus est daté du 23 mai 390, nous pouvons supposer, à la suite de CHASTAGNOL (1961), que notre personnage fut initié pour la première fois en 370. Or, Chastagnol constate très justement que le 16 juin 370, la propre sœur de Volvsianus, Rufia Volvsiانا — sur laquelle nous reviendrons un peu plus loin — fut initiée au taurobole en compagnie de son époux (cf. CIL VI 509). Frère et sœur (et époux) auraient-ils été initiés ensemble, le même jour ? C'est là une hypothèse très séduisante qui soutiendrait la thèse des initiations de groupe ou au sein d'une même *gens*. Pour un cas similaire, voir *infra* n. 75.

⁶³ RE III 1864 (*Ceivnius* 29) ; PLRE I 511-512 (*Lollianus* 1).

traité de pratiques magiques (*conuictus codicem noxiarum artium*) quand il n'avait pas encore atteint l'âge d'un jugement assuré; Maximin consacra à son affaire un examen très attentif. Promis à l'exil (c'est à quoi l'on s'attendait), sur le conseil de son père il fit appel à l'empereur; ayant reçu l'ordre de rejoindre la cour, il tomba, comme on dit, de la fumée dans le feu: livré à Phalangius, gouverneur consulaire de Bétique, il périt de la main fatale du bourreau⁶⁴.

L'historien précise ensuite que d'autres personnages, tous clarissimes, furent également traduits en justice «parce que, disait-on, ils avaient été les complices de Lollianus dans les empoisonnements pratiqués pour favoriser l'aurige Auchénus»⁶⁵. Ammien Marcellin ajoute qu'ils furent tous acquittés car les preuves étaient insuffisantes. Ainsi, Lollianus fut le seul à avoir été condamné dans cette affaire et ceci malgré son rang, sa jeunesse, la noblesse de sa famille et l'intervention de son père qui, rappelons-le, avait été préfet de la Ville peu auparavant.

Ces événements rapportés par Ammien Marcellin se situent sous l'empereur Valentinien I^{er}, lorsque Maximin fut vicaire de Rome et chargé de l'instruction des procès sénatoriaux⁶⁶, c'est-à-dire entre 370 et 371 ap. J.-C. Durant la première partie de son règne, Valentinien semble avoir entretenu de bons rapports avec le Sénat, favorisant autant les sénateurs chrétiens que les sénateurs païens, maintenant ainsi les deux religions sur un pied d'égalité⁶⁷. Mais à partir de 369, les relations entre

⁶⁴ Amm. XXVIII 1.26. Traduction de M.-A. Marié, Les Belles Lettres, 1984. En ce qui concerne le bourreau, il s'agit du chrétien Tanaucius Phalangius (ou Isfalangius), consulaire de Bétique, chargé des jugements en appel et homme de confiance de Valentinien.

⁶⁵ Amm. XXVIII 1.27. À noter que parmi les clarissimes mentionnés par Ammien Marcellin figurent Tarracius Bassus et son frère Caménus. Ce dernier est sans doute Alfenius Caeionius Iulianus Kamenius. Ainsi les deux frères appartenaient à une branche de la *gens* Caeionia.

⁶⁶ Amm. XXVIII 1.8-10 et 31-32. Maximin (*PLRE* I 577-578 [*Maximinus* 7]) fut préfet de l'annone de 368 à 370. À cette période, Olybrius était préfet de la Ville et devait se charger de l'instruction des procès intentés à des membres de l'ordre sénatorial. Mais aux dires d'Ammien Marcellin, Olybrius feignit une maladie et fut remplacé dans ses fonctions par Maximin. Normalement le vicaire de Rome, Aginatus, aurait dû remplacer Olybrius, mais c'est le préfet de l'annone Maximin qui accomplit cette tâche. Chastagnol pense qu'Aginatus fut évincé par l'empereur car suspecté de faire partie d'une conspiration. En 370, Maximin devient vicaire de Rome, et Valentinien continua à lui confier l'instruction des procès.

⁶⁷ Cf. CHASTAGNOL (1960) 427-432. Après avoir établi la liste des préfets, l'auteur constate une alternance régulière entre un préfet païen et un préfet chrétien. Chastagnol pense que cette alternance fut voulue par Valentinien, reprenant ainsi la politique de Constance (352-361). Il est d'avis que Valentinien voulait maintenir sur un pied d'égalité les deux religions, et n'hésite pas à parler de «politique de tolérance et d'équilibre entre

l'empereur et le Sénat se détériorèrent. Dans son vingt-huitième chapitre, Ammien Marcellin nous apprend que Rome devint le théâtre d'une série de grands procès intentés à des membres appartenant aux plus importantes familles sénatoriales, ceci sous l'instigation de Maximin. Selon l'historien, les chefs d'accusation invoqués furent divers: détournement financier, adultère, empoisonnement, crime de lèse-majesté et plus fréquemment crime de magie. Parmi les accusés figurent aussi bien des chrétiens que des païens, ce qui laisse supposer que les pratiques religieuses ne furent pas au centre de ces conflits. Selon André Chastagnol, la raison serait plutôt la mise en place, par une grande partie du Sénat, d'une conspiration dirigée contre l'empereur. Selon lui, les *Caeionii* furent sans doute les membres les plus actifs de cette conspiration. Lollianus fut le seul membre de sa *gens* à avoir été condamné à mort, mais précisons que d'autres membres de la famille furent également impliqués. Citons à ce propos Alfenius Caeionius Iulianus Kamenius et son frère Terracius Bassus, appartenant à une branche secondaire des *Caeionii*, qui furent également accusés, mais acquittés. Enfin relevons qu'un autre personnage apparenté aux *Caeionii* fut également victime de la cruauté de Maximin: Aginatius⁶⁸, vicaire de Rome de 368 à 370 qui fut exécuté en 375, et qui n'est autre que le beau-père de Caecina Decius Albinus Iunior (n° 7 dans notre arbre généalogique).

3. *Rufia Volusiana et Sabina*

Passons à présent à Rufia Volusiana⁶⁹. L'existence de cette femme n'est attestée que par un unique document épigraphique bilingue provenant de Rome. Il s'agit d'un autel taurobolique par lequel Rufia Volusiana et son époux, Petronius Apollodorus, commémorèrent ensemble leur initiation au taurobole réalisée le 16 juin 370 ap. J.-C.⁷⁰. Les deux conjoints furent donc des pratiquants des cultes anciens et comptèrent eux aussi parmi les tauroboliés de la grande Mère des dieux et d'Attis. Petronius Apollodorus⁷¹, inconnu en dehors de ce document, appartenait également à

les deux confessions». Valentinien semble avoir suivi cette politique durant les six premières années de son règne, conservant ainsi de bons rapports avec le Sénat.

⁶⁸ PLRE I 29-30 (*Aginatius*). Aginatius fut arrêté et exécuté en 375/376, à la suite d'une accusation d'adultère et de magie (cf. Amm. XXVIII 1.50-56).

⁶⁹ PLRE I 975 (*Volusiana*).

⁷⁰ CIL VI 509 = IG XIV 1018.

⁷¹ PLRE I 84 (*Apollodorus*). Nous ignorons si Rufia Volusiana et Petronius Apollodorus eurent des enfants.

l'ordre sénatorial et cumula diverses prêtrises: il fut pontife majeur, *quindecimvir sacris faciundis* et «père» dans le culte de Mithra.

Rufia Volusiana avait une sœur nommée Sabina⁷², attestée elle aussi par un unique témoignage épigraphique bilingue provenant de Rome⁷³. Il s'agit d'un autel consacré à Attis et à Rhéa commémorant l'initiation de Sabina au taurobole (ou aux mystères éleusiniens)⁷⁴ ainsi qu'aux mystères d'Hécate. Ce document date de 377⁷⁵ et il prouve que Sabina fut elle aussi une adepte des cultes mystériques. Malheureusement, nous ne savons rien de plus à son sujet.

4. *Publilius Caecionius Caecina Albinus* (n° 6) et ses enfants: *Caecina Decius Albinus Iunior*, *Caecionius Contucius Gregorius* et *Laeta*

Publilius Caecionius Caecina Albinus⁷⁶, cinquième enfant de Lampadius, est attesté par de nombreuses sources tant épigraphiques⁷⁷ que littéraires⁷⁸. Nous plaçons sa naissance vers 340⁷⁹. Il comptait parmi ses amis Symmaque, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus ainsi que Macrobe⁸⁰. Albinus

⁷² PLRE I 788 (*Sabina* 2).

⁷³ CIL VI 30966 = IG XIV 1019.

⁷⁴ Ce texte indique que Sabina connaissait les mystères de Déo et les nuits effrayantes d'Hécate. Dans la poésie antique, Déo est une forme brève qui désigne Déméter ce qui nous autorise à interpréter ici les mystères de Déo comme étant les mystères d'Eleusis. Toutefois, notons que l'inscription est adressée au couple formé par Attis et Rhéa, et que la Mère des dieux était parfois assimilée à Rhéa. Nous pensons donc que ce texte commémore deux initiations: à la Mère des dieux et à Attis, ainsi qu'à Hécate.

⁷⁵ La même année, Rufius Caecionius Sabinus érigea lui aussi un autel taurobolique à Rome (CIL VI 511, cf. *supra* n. 13). CHASTAGNOL (1961) 753 suppose que cousin et cousine furent tauroboliés le même jour.

⁷⁶ RE III 1864 (*Caeionius* 30); PLRE I 34-35 (*Albinus* 8).

⁷⁷ En effet, nous ne possédons pas moins de dix-huit inscriptions provenant de Numidie qui attestent de son existence et de son activité dans cette région: CIL VIII 2242, 2388, 2656 (attribution non certaine), 2735, 4767 = 18701, 6975, 7975 = 19852, 19502, 20156 (= AE 1988, 30); AE 1895, 108; AE 1909, 220, 222; AE 1911, 110, 217; AE 1913, 35 (qui concerne peut-être son fils homonyme); AE 1917/18, 58; AE 1926, 134; AE 1946, 107.

⁷⁸ Notre personnage est mis en scène par Macrobe dans ses *Saturnales* où il fait partie des convives de Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (*Sat.* I 1-2; I 24; III 14; VI 1; VI 4). De plus, Albinus est le destinataire d'une lettre de Symmaque datée de 396 (*epist.* 8.25), et il est mentionné dans la correspondance de Jérôme (*epist.* 107.1).

⁷⁹ Macr., *Sat.* I 2.15: ce passage affirme que Symmaque et Albinus avaient approximativement le même âge. Etant donné que Seeck a démontré que Symmaque était né aux alentours de 340, nous pouvons en déduire que la naissance d'Albinus se situe elle aussi plus ou moins à cette même date.

⁸⁰ Macr., *Sat.* VI 1. Macrobe présente notre personnage comme l'un des «deux érudits de beaucoup les plus remarquables de notre temps». Le second érudit étant Furius

fut consulaire de la province de Numidie Constantinienne avec six faisceaux⁸¹ de 364 à 367, sous les empereurs Valens et Gratien. Divers témoignages attestent de son activité édilitaire florissante dans cette région d'Afrique, et nombreux furent les édifices restaurés ou construits par ce personnage⁸². Sa fonction de consulaire reste malgré cette riche documentation la seule magistrature connue de son *cursus honorum*.

Albinus épousa une femme anonyme qui était chrétienne, et de cette union naquirent trois enfants: Caecina Decius Albinus Iunior, Caecionius Contucius Gregorius et Laeta. Nous sommes relativement bien informé sur la carrière et les pratiques religieuses de l'aîné, Caecina Decius Albinus⁸³, dont la naissance devrait se situer aux environs de 365. Plusieurs documents épigraphiques provenant d'Afrique et de Rome fournissent de précieux renseignements sur sa carrière. De plus, il fut le destinataire de diverses épîtres de Symmaque⁸⁴, et Macrobe le met en scène dans ses

Albinus. Selon CHASTAGNOL (1962) 235, il faut corriger *Furius Albinus* par *Rufius Albinus*, et reconnaître dans ce personnage le dernier frère de *Publilius Caecionius Caecina Albinus* dont nous reparlerons un peu plus loin. Si nous acceptons cette correction, cela signifierait que Macrobe met en scène deux frères, deux des quatre fils de *Lampadius*, qu'il considère comme étant les deux hommes les plus érudits de son époque.

⁸¹ Le titre de *consularis sexfascalis prouvinciae Numidiae* apparaît pour la première fois en 320 ap. J.-C. et fut porté par le clarissime *Domitius Zenophilus*. Ce titre correspond à une modification administrative due aux réformes entreprises par Constantin. Sur cette question nous renvoyons à CHASTAGNOL (1966). L'auteur a recensé vingt-trois consulaires de Numidie qui se situent entre Constantin et l'invasion vandale. Il est intéressant de relever que quatre consulaires recensés par Chastagnol appartiennent à la *gens* *Caecina*: *Ceionius Italicus* (consulaire de Numidie en 343), *Publilius Caecionius Caecina Albinus* (364-367), *Alfenius Caecionius Iulianus Kamenius* (entre 374 et 380), et enfin *Caecina Decius Albinus Iunior* le fils de *Publilius Caecionius Caecina Albinus* (entre 383 et 392). L'auteur relève encore un point intéressant pour notre recherche: il constate que *Publilius Caecionius Caecina Albinus* fut nommé consulaire de Numidie pendant que son père, *Lampadius*, était préfet de Rome. De même, *Alfenius Caecionius Iulianus Kamenius* et *Caecina Decius Albinus Iunior* «sont arrivés en Numidie pendant qu'étaient préfets de la Ville, pour l'un son frère *Tarracius Bassus* (sans doute en 375-376), pour l'autre son oncle *Caecionius Rufius Albinus* (en 389-391)». Pour terminer, Chastagnol s'interroge sur les croyances religieuses des consulaires de Numidie et, sans pouvoir aboutir à des résultats précis, remarque que la majorité d'entre eux demeuraient fidèles aux anciens cultes.

⁸² Cf. notamment *AE* 1946, 107; *AE* 1913, 35; *AE* 1909, 222; *CIL* VIII, 19502, 20156, 2242, 2388, 2656, 2735, 4767, 6975, 7972. Sur les constructions et restaurations entreprises par Albinus durant son gouvernement, voir LEPELLEY (2002), en particulier 274. L'auteur souligne que bien que païen et même si Valentinien fut tolérant, Albinus ne restaura aucun monument affecté aux anciens cultes dans le cadre de ses fonctions officielles. En revanche, dans le privé, il fit construire un *mithraeum* (*speleum*).

⁸³ *RE* III 1865 (*Caecionius* 36); CHASTAGNOL (1962) n° 108; *PLRE* I 35-36 (*Albinus* 10).

⁸⁴ *Symm., epist.* 7.35-41. Il est également mentionné dans 8.23.

*Saturnales*⁸⁵. Si nous suivons les restitutions proposées par Otto Seeck, auxquelles adhère également André Chastagnol, Caecina Decius Albinus Iunior aurait dans un premier temps occupé un poste dans un bureau, sans doute en qualité de *tribunus* et de *notarius*⁸⁶. Puis, entre 383 et 392, à l'exemple de son père il fut consulaire de Numidie⁸⁷. Successivement, il occupa un poste de gouverneur de Campanie en 397-398⁸⁸, puis de questeur du palais entre 398 et 399⁸⁹, et enfin de préfet de la Ville en 402 avec la charge de juger les procès en appel⁹⁰.

Comme son père, Albinus Iunior resta fidèle aux anciens cultes. Il semblerait qu'il ait épousé une fille d'Aginatius⁹¹ (vicaire de Rome en

⁸⁵ Macr., *Sat.* I 2.3.

⁸⁶ O. SEECK, *Q. Aurelii Symmachi quae supersunt*, München 1894, p. 182 et *RE* III 1865 (*Caenionius* 36). Selon lui cette première charge serait prouvée par Symm., *epist.* 7.38. Dans cette lettre, datée de 398, Symmaque s'exprime ainsi: *Nam si ipse diu uersatus in castris nonnihil timoris expertus es, quid ego togae adsueta amaritudinis incidissem?* («C'était, je crois, pour m'empêcher d'aller sur vos traces jusqu'au bout de la Campanie, car, si vous-même, qui fûtes longtemps dans les camps, aviez éprouvé un peu de crainte, dans quelles mésaventures serais-je tombé, moi, un civil?»). Traduction de J.-P. Callu, *Les Belles Lettres*, 1995. Ceci a convaincu Seeck que notre personnage avait, dans sa jeunesse, exercé une charge militaire et peut-être plus précisément celle de tribun, ce qui expliquerait son long séjour dans un camp et les fonctions qu'il exerça par la suite.

⁸⁷ Plusieurs documents attestent de cette fonction: *CIL* VIII 7034, 7035, 19506; *AE* 1902, 166; *AE* 1909, 223; *AE* 1933, 159; *AE* 1913, 23. Ces textes commémorent notamment la réparation des aqueducs de Constantine et d'Henchir-el-Abiod. À noter que sur les documents épigraphiques provenant d'Afrique, Caecinia Decius Albinus est souvent désigné par son surnom Iunior, ceci afin de le différencier de son père homonyme. Cf. CHASTAGNOL (1962) n° 108 (qui reproduit toutes ces inscriptions); CHASTAGNOL (1966).

⁸⁸ À nouveau, cette fonction est sous-entendue par un passage tiré des lettres de Symmaque, et non prouvée explicitement par des documents officiels. En effet, les sept lettres que Symmaque adressa à Decius sont datées entre 396 et 398. Toutes attestent que le jeune homme se trouvait en Campanie durant ces deux années. En lisant ces lettres nous serions tentés de croire que Decius s'y trouvait en villégiature, et Symmaque insiste auprès de lui pour hâter son retour dans la capitale. Toutefois, la lettre 7.40 précise: *Iamdudum curis publicis absolutus relegere iter potius quam auspiciis litterarum lenire amicorum desideria debuisti* («Depuis le temps que vous êtes dégagé des soucis de l'État, vous eussiez dû refaire la route au lieu d'adoucir les regrets de vos amis par des lettres de bon augure»). C'est sur cette indication que s'appuie Seeck pour prouver que Decius venait de terminer un mandat de gouverneur en Campanie. À noter qu'à ce moment, la Campanie était devenue une province de rang proconsulaire et que son gouvernement constituait une charge prestigieuse.

⁸⁹ Symm., *epist.* 7.45-47; cf. CHASTAGNOL (1962) 259. Sous Théodose et peu après, afin d'illustrer les bons rapports entretenus entre l'empereur et le Sénat, certains sénateurs reçurent après le gouvernement d'une province d'Italie, une charge de cour comme celle de *quaestor sacri palatii*. Voir CLEMENTE (1969) 632-633.

⁹⁰ *Cod. Theod.* VII 13.15 (6 décembre 402); *CIL* VI 1192.

⁹¹ Sur Aginatius, voir n. 68.

368-370), et qu'il eut un fils nommé Caecina Decius Aginatus Albinus qui fut, à son tour, préfet de la Ville en 414⁹².

Nous ne savons que peu de choses de Caeionius Contucius Gregorius⁹³ (n° 8), le fils cadet de Publilius Caeionius Caecina Albinus. Un document épigraphique nous apprend qu'il fut consulaire de Flaminia et du Picenum antérieurement à 400⁹⁴. Nous n'avons aucune mention d'un mariage ni d'une descendance, et nous ignorons quelles furent ses pratiques religieuses.

Laeta⁹⁵ est le troisième enfant de Publilius Caeionius Caecina Albinus. Jérôme nous apporte de précieux renseignements au sujet de cette femme chrétienne⁹⁶. Elle épousa Toxotius⁹⁷ qui, selon Jérôme, se convertit au christianisme suite à l'influence exercée par son épouse. De cette union naquit Paula la Jeune⁹⁸ à une date comprise entre 400 et 402. Dès la naissance de leur fille, Laeta et Toxotius décidèrent de la vouer à la chasteté perpétuelle, faisant d'elle une vierge consacrée. Laeta demanda d'ailleurs à Jérôme de tracer un programme éducatif afin d'élever Paula en parfaite chrétienne⁹⁹. Laeta ne quitta jamais Rome et confia l'instruction de sa

⁹² RE III 1865 (Ceionius 39); PLRE II, Albinus 7, p. 50-51; CHASTAGNOL 1962, n° 122. Il est le destinataire d'une lettre de Symmaque (*epist.* 8.25) datée de 396. Caecina Decius Aginatus Albinus fut préfet de la Ville en 414 et chargé de juger les procès (Rut. Nam. 1.466-474). Le 17 septembre 414, une constitution relative aux Naviculaires lui fut adressée (*Cod. Theod.* XIII 5.38). De plus, deux documents épigraphiques attestent de sa préfecture (*CIL* VI 1659 et 1703). Enfin, un fragment d'Olympiodore nous apprend qu'Albinus adressa une *relatio* à la cour de Ravenne pour demander une augmentation du *canon frumentarius* pour les habitants de Rome dont le nombre s'était accru (Olympiod., *fragm.* 25, éd. C. Müller). Selon CHASTAGNOL 1962, p. 274, il est possible qu'Albinus occupa une seconde préfecture de la Ville en 426, puis une préfecture du prétoire d'Italie en 430. L'auteur pense qu'il eut pour fils «un autre Albinus, qui fut successivement préfet du prétoire en 440 et en 443-448, consul en 444 et patrice à partir de 446». Nous ignorons quelles furent les pratiques religieuses de Caecina Decius Aginatus Albinus.

⁹³ RE III 1865 (Ceionius 37); PLRE II 325-326 (Contucius). Soulignons que son appartenance à la *gens* Caeionia n'est pas assurée.

⁹⁴ *CIL* VI 1706.

⁹⁵ RE III 1865 (Ceionius 38); PLRE I 492 (Laeta 2); PCBE II 1227-1229 (Laeta).

⁹⁶ Voir en particulier Hier., *epist.* 107 (datée vers 400).

⁹⁷ PLRE I 921 (Toxotius 1); PCBE II 2209 (Toxotius 2). Toxotius était le fils de Paula l'Ancienne (PLRE I 674-675 [Paula 1]; PCBE II 1617-1626 [Paula 1]) et de Iulius Toxotius (PLRE I 921 [Toxotius 2]; PCBE II 2209 [Toxotius 1]). Nous avons vu précédemment que Paula l'Ancienne et ses filles Iulia Eustochium et Blesilla étaient chrétiennes et qu'elles appartenaient au cercle de femmes réunies autour de Marcella.

⁹⁸ PLRE I 675 (Paula 2); PCBE II 1627-1628 (Paula 3).

⁹⁹ Cette information se trouve également dans la lettre 107. Jérôme proposait à Laeta d'élever sa fille à l'écart de la vie mondaine, de pratiquer très tôt diverses formes d'ascèses, de s'exercer à la prière et à la psalmodie, et de s'adonner à divers travaux manuels.

filles à Boniface¹⁰⁰. Nous n'avons pas plus d'information à son sujet, ni sur son époux d'ailleurs. Elle mourut avant 419¹⁰¹.

Poursuivons notre recherche avec Paula la Jeune. Consacrée vierge dès sa naissance et suivie de près par le futur pape Boniface, Paula vécut une partie de sa vie à Rome. Vers 410, sans doute lors de l'invasion de Rome par les Visigoths, elle fut envoyée à Bethléem, selon le vœu de Jérôme et sans doute pour la mettre en sécurité. Elle passa quelques années aux côtés de sa tante Iulia Eustochium avec qui elle assumait la co-direction du monastère fondé par sa grand-mère, Paula l'Ancienne (décédée vers 404)¹⁰². Puis à la mort de Iulia Eustochium survenue vers 418-419, Paula fut placée sous la tutelle de Jérôme et assumait seule la direction du monastère¹⁰³. Dès 418, elle fut en contact avec sa cousine, Mélanie la Jeune, sur laquelle nous reviendrons plus loin, et entre 419-420, elle assista à la mort de Jérôme. Nous ignorons quand survint le décès de Paula, mais nous savons qu'elle était encore en vie en 439, puisqu'elle assista au trépas de sa cousine, Mélanie¹⁰⁴.

Revenons un instant sur les pratiques religieuses de Publilius Caecionius Caecina Albinus et de ses trois enfants. Sur cette question, la lettre adressée par Jérôme à Laeta est essentielle. Jérôme décrit Publilius Caecionius Caecina Albinus comme un clarissime, pontife de Vesta et un homme savant «qui marche encore dans les ténèbres»¹⁰⁵. Il précise que Laeta fut le fruit d'un mariage mixte: *tu es nata de inpari matrimonio*. Ainsi Albinus demeurait fidèle aux anciens cultes, mais il avait épousé une chrétienne. Leur fille était chrétienne, mais elle épousa Toxotius qu'elle poussa à la conversion et ensemble ils vouèrent leur fille à Dieu faisant d'elle une vierge consacrée¹⁰⁶. Malgré l'encouragement de Jérôme

Plus tard, elle aurait dû suivre les enseignements d'un professeur de latin et de grec qui lui auraient permis de lire les Saintes Écritures. Jérôme conseilla également à Laeta d'envoyer rapidement Paula à Bethléem, au monastère dirigé par sa grand-mère et sa tante, Paula l'Ancienne et Iulia Eustochium, et où lui-même aurait pu se charger de parfaire son éducation.

¹⁰⁰ Boniface devint pape en 418.

¹⁰¹ Hier., *epist.* 153.

¹⁰² Aug., *gest. Pelag.* 66.

¹⁰³ Hier., *epist.* 153.

¹⁰⁴ *Vita Melaniae*, 68.

¹⁰⁵ Hier., *epist.* 107.1: *consideret domum patris tui, clarissimi quidem et eruditissimi uiri, sed adhuc ambulantis in tenebris* («qu'il considère la maison de ton père, clarissime, un homme si savant, mais qui marche encore dans les ténèbres»).

¹⁰⁶ Hier., *epist.* 107.1. Dans ce passage, Jérôme désigne Albinus comme le seul incroyant (*uirum infedele*) de sa famille, sous-entendant par-là que ses deux fils, Caecina

qui écrivait à Laeta: «ne désespère pas du salut de ton père, (...). Jamais la conversion n'est trop tardive», Albinus demeura fidèle aux anciens cultes. En réalité, nous savons avec certitude que seules son épouse, sa fille et sa petite-fille étaient chrétiennes. Si Albinus ne céda pas aux pressions exercées par les femmes de sa famille, il semble avoir accepté ou du moins toléré cet état de fait dans sa propre maison.

5. *Caecionius Rufius Albinus* (n° 9)

Le sixième et dernier enfant né de l'union entre Lampadius et Caecinia Lolliana se nomme Caecionius Rufius Albinus¹⁰⁷. Son *cursus honorum* demeure relativement obscur et nous ignorons complètement ses débuts. En revanche, nous savons qu'il fut préfet de la Ville¹⁰⁸ et chargé de juger les procès en appel à deux reprises¹⁰⁹.

Caecionius Rufius Albinus connaissait bien les dogmes chrétiens ainsi que les Saintes Écritures, mais il n'en demeura pas moins fidèle aux anciens cultes. Il semble avoir échangé des propos avec Ambroise au sujet du mystère de l'Incarnation¹¹⁰. Albinus épousa une chrétienne dont

Decius Albinus Iunior et Caecionius Contucius Gregorius étaient eux aussi chrétiens. Mais nous avons vu précédemment que Caecinia Decius Albinus Iunior était païen, comme son père. Par conséquent, il convient de se demander si Jérôme n'a pas exagéré quelque peu la pénétration du christianisme au sein de ce noyau familial. Nous reviendrons sur la question des vierges chrétiennes et de leur consécration plus loin.

¹⁰⁷ RE III 1864 (*Caecionius* 33); PLRE I 37-38 (*Albinus* 15); CHASTAGNOL (1962) n° 94.

¹⁰⁸ Sa préfecture est attestée par une douzaine de lois qui lui furent adressées entre le 17 juin 389 et le 24 février 391: *Cod. Theod.* XVI 5.18a (17 juin 389); XI 30.49 et *Cod. Iust.* VI 1.8 (25 juillet 389); *Cod. Theod.* II 8.19a (7 août 389); IX 16.11a et XII 16.1 (16 août 389); XIV 4.5 (18 août 389); XIV 4.6a (25 août 389); XV 2.5 (28 août 389); IX 10.4a (6 mars 390); XV 1.27 (4 avril 390); XVI 10.10 (24 février 391). Soulignons que la dernière loi qu'il reçut n'est autre que le fameux édit de Théodose proscrivant définitivement les manifestations du paganisme. Sa préfecture se situe donc à un moment de réaction païenne, lors de l'opposition momentanée entre Théodose et saint Ambroise, c'est-à-dire juste après la défaite de Maxime. Enfin, il est probable qu'Albinus soit le même préfet de la Ville mentionné par Symm., *epist.* 2.30 (datée de 389) et 3.87 (389/391).

¹⁰⁹ Nous ignorons en quelle occasion il fut chargé d'une première mission d'appel. Mommsen avait suggéré un proconsulat en Afrique, thèse réfutée par CHASTAGNOL (1962) 234. Sa seconde mission quant à elle était liée à la préfecture de la Ville. En effet, la formule *iterum uice sacra iudicans* ainsi que la fonction de préfet de la Ville apparaissent sur plusieurs bases de statues érigées par Albinus pour les membres de la famille impériale: *CIL* VI 3791a = 31413 dédiée à Valentinien II; *CIL* VI 3791a b = 31414 à Arcadius; *CIL* VI 36959 à Théodose; et *CIL* VI 36960 à Thermantia.

¹¹⁰ Cette information figure chez Phot., *Bibl. cod.* 230, 271b. CHASTAGNOL (1962) 235-236, pense que l'on peut identifier Caecionius Rufius Albinus avec l'Albinus auquel

nous ignorons le nom¹¹¹ et de cette union naquirent deux enfants: une fille aînée nommée Caeionia Albina et Rufius Antonius Agrypnus Volusianus qui sera le dernier personnage examiné dans cette étude.

LA DESCENDANCE DE CAEIONIUS RUFIVS ALBINVS: ALBINA ET SA FILLE MÉLANIE LA JEUNE

Caeionia Albina¹¹² naquit à Nole à une date située aux alentours de 365. Vers 381-382, elle épousa Valerius Publicola¹¹³ et donna naissance à deux enfants¹¹⁴: un fils dont nous ignorons le nom¹¹⁵ et Valeria Melania née au plus tard en 384-385 et plus connue sous le nom de Mélanie la Jeune ou de sainte Mélanie¹¹⁶.

Les parcours de Caeionia Albina et de sa fille sont intimement liés. La vie de Mélanie nous est bien connue puisqu'elle fit l'objet d'une biographie détaillée de la part de son chapelain G rontios¹¹⁷. Elle naquit vers 380 et   l' ge de 13 ans elle  pousa Pinien¹¹⁸, l'un des meilleurs partis

s'adressait l'opuscule de Servius sur la m trique. Il reconna t  galement en lui l'auteur d'un trait  intitul  *De metris*, et le *doctus uir* qui a r dig  les ouvrages de g om trie et de logique dont Bo ce fait mention. Chastagnol se demande s'il ne serait pas  galement l'auteur du trait  de musique, *uir magnificus*, cit  par Cassiodore.

¹¹¹ Aug., *epist.* 136, 137 et 132: des indices laissent supposer que l' pouse de Caeionius Rufius Albinus  tait chr tienne, contrairement   celui-ci.

¹¹² *PLRE* I 33 (*Albina* 2); *PCBE* II 75-77 (*Albina* 2).

¹¹³ *PLRE* I 753 (*Publicola* 1); *PCBE* II 1863-1864 (*Publicola*). Publicola  tait le fils de M lanie l'Ancienne (*PLRE* I 592-593 [*Melania* 1]; *PCBE* II 1480-1483 [*Melania* 1]) et de Valerius Maximus (pr fet de la Ville de 361   363).

¹¹⁴ Pallad., *hist. laus.* 54.2-4.

¹¹⁵ Le fr re de M lanie fut ignor  des sources antiques qui n'ont m me pas pris la peine de relever son nom. Il est probable que toutes les sources chr tiennes qui traitent de M lanie ne se soient gu re attard es sur son fr re car il demeurerait fid le aux anciens cultes. Ce fait peut  tre d duit d'un passage de Pallade (*hist. laus.* 61.4-5) qui fait mention du fr re de M lanie et de son style de vie tr s diff rent de celui de sa m re et de sa s ur. Malheureusement, nous resterons dans l'ignorance et nous ne pourrons pas poursuivre la g n alogie des *Caeionii*   travers ce personnage.

¹¹⁶ *PLRE* I 593 (*Melania* 2); *PCBE* II 1483-1490 (*Melania* 2). Voir  galement RAMPOLLA DEL TINDARO (1905). M lanie a h rit  du nom de son illustre grand-m re paternelle, M lanie l'Ancienne.

¹¹⁷ G rontios, *Vita Melaniae*. Nous n'utiliserons que la version grecque,  dit e et traduite par D. Gorce, Paris 1962. Pour un r sum  de la vie de M lanie voir  galement Pallad., *hist. laus.* 54.

¹¹⁸ *PLRE* I 702 (*Pinianus* 2); *PCBE* II 1798-1802 (*Pinianus* 2). Pinien  tait le fils de Valerius S v re (pr fet de la Ville en 382). Il serait n  entre 376 et 380, et  pousa M lanie   17 ans.

de Rome. Ainsi que le précise G rontios, par ce mariage les parents de M lanie «esp raient assurer par elle la continuation de leur famille, l'unissant de toute force en mariage   son bienheureux  poux le consulaire Pinien»¹¹⁹. De cette union naquirent deux enfants qui moururent pr matur ment¹²⁰.   la suite de ces d c s, M lanie «en vint    prouver une telle aversion du mariage» qu'elle demanda   Pinien de vivre d sormais dans l'abstinence sexuelle et de renoncer d finitivement   une descendance. Elle voulait suivre l'exemple de sa grand-m re paternelle, M lanie l'Ancienne¹²¹. M lanie la Jeune  tait  g e de vingt ans lorsque commence pour le jeune couple une vie bas e sur diff rentes asc ses¹²². G rontios pr cise que les conjoints affirm rent leur foi chr tienne de diverses man res. Il s'impos rent l'abstinence sexuelle, vivant comme fr re et s ur. Ils quitt rent leurs luxueux v tements et firent r guli rement visite aux malades de la Ville en leur pratiquant des soins. Ils assist rent les pauvres et d livr rent les d tenus pour dette¹²³. M lanie persuada  galement son  poux de vivre dans la pauvret  et la simplicit . Ainsi, ils vendirent leurs propri t s et l'argent obtenu de ces ventes h tives servit   pourvoir aux besoins de divers monast res¹²⁴.

¹¹⁹ *Vita Melaniae* 1. Ce d tail est tr s int ressant, car Albina et Publicola souhait rent tous les deux assurer la continuit  de leur famille. Ce souci, nous l'avons vu,  tait plut t «pa en» et s'opposait   l'aspiration de virginit  et de chastet  pr n e par certains p res de l' glise, comme par exemple J r me, ainsi que par les mod les f minins chr tiens de cette  poque (Marcella, Laeta, Paula, Asella, Iulia Eustochium et bien d'autres encore).

¹²⁰ Pallade pr cise que M lanie donna naissance   deux gar ons morts pr matur ment. G rontios (*Vita Melaniae* 5-6) pour sa part parle d'une fillette puis d'un gar on mort en 403, au lendemain d'un accouchement pr matur  et difficile. La fillette quant   elle serait morte peu apr s son fr re. Le texte de G rontios est   cet  gard plus parlant, car nous d couvrons que M lanie ne d sirait en aucun cas devenir m re. Elle refusait cet  tat et tentait de dissimuler ses grossesses, comme si la maternit  l' loignait de Dieu. Pinien pour sa part semblait d sirer une famille.

¹²¹ Pallad., *hist. laus.* 54.2-4, 61,2; *Vita Melaniae* 1. Lorsque M lanie d cida de vouer sa vie   l'asc tisme, sa grand-m re  tait depuis peu de retour   Rome, selon Pallade dans le but de «cat chiser» sa belle-fille et d'encourager sa petite-fille dans ses projets. Cette venue fut une b n diction pour M lanie car, d s cet instant, sa m re se convertit   l'id al asc tique et la soutint activement.

¹²² En 404/405, en compagnie de sa m re et de sa grand-m re, M lanie entreprit une retraite en Sicile puis en Campanie, pendant que Pinien se retirait dans une communaut  monastique de Rome. C'est   ce moment que Pallade s journa   Rome et qu'il rencontra Pinien (*hist. laus.* 61.7). Par la suite, M lanie, Albina et Pinien v curent quelques ann es   Rome avant de quitter d finitivement la Ville.

¹²³ Pallad., *hist. laus.* 61.6 et *Vita Melaniae* 8-9.

¹²⁴ Pallad., *hist. laus.* 61.4-5. Ils vendirent leurs propri t s d'Espagne, d'Aquitaine, de Tarraconaise et des Gaules, conservant dans un premier temps celles de Sicile, de Campanie et d'Afrique. Le texte de Pallade met en lumi re l'immense richesse accumul e par

Le 14 janvier 407, Mélanie, Pinien et Albina quittèrent Rome et séjournèrent en Campanie jusqu'en 409. De là ils gagnèrent la Sicile où ils réalisèrent diverses donations en faveur de la communauté chrétienne. En 410, tous les trois s'embarquèrent pour l'Afrique où ils demeurèrent jusqu'en 417¹²⁵. Ils accomplirent ensuite plusieurs pèlerinages en Terre Sainte¹²⁶, puis Mélanie s'enferma dans une cellule sur le mont des Oliviers où elle demeura en retraite durant 14 ans¹²⁷. Elle ne sortit de son recueillement que lorsque sa mère mourut en 431, et édifia un monastère destiné à des vierges chrétiennes¹²⁸.

la *gens* Caeionia durant les derniers siècles de l'Empire. Il s'agissait essentiellement de propriétés foncières parsemées à travers l'Empire ainsi que de nombreux esclaves. Gérontios (*Vita Melaniae* 14-15) fournit lui aussi une estimation des richesses de Pinien et de Mélanie concluant qu'il était impossible de les mesurer tant elles étaient grandes. Par la suite, il précise comment cette fortune fut redistribuée. Dans ce passage sont décrits certains biens appartenant à Mélanie et notamment une somptueuse villa située sur le Caelius qu'elle avait reçu en héritage, et que personne à Rome ne pouvait se permettre de racheter. Voir LEPELLEY (1997-1998).

¹²⁵ *Vita Melaniae* 20-22. Le séjour africain fut troublé par une affaire rapportée par Augustin (*epist.* 124, 125, 126). Au début de l'année 411, Mélanie et Pinien assistèrent à la célébration des saints mystères à Hippone, siège épiscopal d'Augustin. Durant la cérémonie, le peuple acclama violemment Pinien, sollicitant son ordination comme prêtre de leur cité. Les habitants d'Hippone voulaient conserver chez eux un illustre et riche Romain connu pour son évergétisme. L'Église chrétienne s'entourait volontiers de personnages fortunés et de rang social élevé qui s'étaient convertis et qui mettaient leurs richesses privées à la disposition de l'Église. Ces fortunes permettaient de financer des œuvres de charités, d'entretenir, d'embellir et d'édifier des monastères et des églises, mais aussi de réduire les hérésies par de généreuses donations. Selon le témoignage d'Augustin, Pinien refusa cette prêtrise. Il était prêt à vouer sa vie à l'ascétisme, mais pas à devenir prêtre. Or, le refus de Pinien à occuper un office dans l'Église n'était pas isolé, voir à ce propos SALZMAN (2002) 132-135. Cette affaire demeure obscure, mais il est certain que Pinien, Mélanie et Albina quittèrent l'Afrique sept ans plus tard, en 417. Sur les voyages de Mélanie, Albina et Pinien en Sicile et en Afrique nous renvoyons à LEPELLEY (1997-1998). L'auteur aborde également les conséquences de la vente hâtive de leurs propriétés foncières et de leurs esclaves.

¹²⁶ *Vita Melaniae* 34. Ils firent une première halte à Alexandrie où ils furent accueillis par l'évêque Cyrille. Puis, ils gagnèrent Jérusalem et s'établirent à l'Anastasis. Dans le courant de l'année 418, ils rendirent visite à Jérôme, à Bethléem. Puis Mélanie et Pinien entreprirent un voyage à travers l'Égypte. Ils firent le tour des cellules des monastères établis dans le désert, puis retournèrent à Alexandrie, gagnèrent ensuite Nitrie et le lieu-dit des «Cellules» où ils rencontrèrent plusieurs saints pères (*Vita Melaniae* 37-39). Gérontios précise que Mélanie fut reçue «comme un homme» car «elle avait dépassé la mesure de son sexe et acquis une mentalité virile ou plutôt céleste». Mélanie et Pinien furent les premiers chrétiens de la *gens* Caeionia à avoir quitté Rome et surtout à avoir procédé à des pèlerinages en Terre Sainte.

¹²⁷ *Vita Melaniae* 40. Jérôme mourut le 30 septembre 419 (ou 420) durant la longue retraite spirituelle de Mélanie.

¹²⁸ *Vita Melaniae* 40-41.

En 432, Pinien mourut et Mélanie s'imposa quatre années de deuil supplémentaires à l'issue desquelles elle édifia un second monastère réservé aux hommes¹²⁹. En 436, elle se rendit à Constantinople afin d'y rencontrer son oncle, Rufius Antonius Agrypnus Volusianus, le dernier représentant «païen» de la *gens* Caeionia. Nous reviendrons un peu plus loin sur cette rencontre mémorable. Mélanie quitta Constantinople à la fin du mois de février 437 pour regagner Jérusalem au début de la semaine sainte¹³⁰ et où, aux dires de Gérontios, elle réalisa plusieurs miracles, guérissant des femmes malades¹³¹. Le 25 décembre 439, elle se rendit à Bethléem en compagnie de sa cousine Paula la Jeune et de Gérontios afin d'y célébrer la Nativité. Selon son biographe, Mélanie était déjà très affaiblie lorsqu'elle s'éteint le 31 décembre 439, après avoir prodigué ses dernières recommandations à ses proches¹³².

RUFIIUS ANTONIUS AGRYPNIIUS VOLUSIANUS (n° 10)

Nous concluons cette étude prosopographique avec Rufius Antonius Agrypnus Volusianus¹³³. Il est le fils de Caeionius Rufinus Albinus et d'une chrétienne dont nous ignorons le nom, ainsi que le frère d'Albina et par conséquent l'oncle de Mélanie la Jeune. Nous plaçons sa naissance vers 382, faisant de lui un contemporain de sa nièce. Comme son père, Volusianus resta fidèle aux anciens cultes et réalisa une brillante carrière sénatoriale. Son *cursus honorum* est en partie fourni par son ami, le poète anti-chrétien Rutilius Namatianus¹³⁴. La première charge connue est le proconsulat d'Afrique, sans doute exercé de 411 à 412¹³⁵, suivi d'un poste

¹²⁹ *Vita Melaniae* 49.

¹³⁰ Durant son séjour, elle rencontra l'impératrice Eudocie et sa fille Eudoxie (*Vita Melaniae* 53-56).

¹³¹ *Vita Melaniae* 60-62.

¹³² *Vita Melaniae* 63-69.

¹³³ *RE* III 1866 (*Ceionius* 40); *PLRE* II 1184-1185 (*Volusianus* 6); *PCBE* II 2340-2341 (*Volusianus* 1); CHASTAGNOL (1962) n° 125; CHASTAGNOL (1956). À noter que la *gens* Caeionia se poursuit bien au-delà sous les *Caecinae Decii*. Divers descendants sont connus et attestés par la documentation au moins jusqu'au début du VI^{ème} s. ap. J.-C., mais nous nous arrêtons ici en ce qui concerne cette étude.

¹³⁴ *Rut. Nam.* I.167-170.

¹³⁵ Durant cette période Volusianus résida dans la province d'Afrique. Or rappelons qu'à cette même époque Albina, Mélanie la Jeune et Pinien se trouvaient eux aussi en Afrique, mais aucun témoignage n'atteste d'une rencontre.

de questeur du palais. De 417 à 418, il fut préfet de la Ville et chargé de juger les procès en appel¹³⁶, puis de 428 à 429, préfet du prétoire d'Italie¹³⁷. Malgré la prédiction de Rutilius Namatianus, Volusianus n'exerça jamais le consulat. Néanmoins, cette carrière demeure exceptionnelle et le poète se plaît à souligner à deux reprises que son ami débuta particulièrement jeune dans le *cursus honorum*¹³⁸.

Durant son proconsulat d'Afrique, Volusianus échangea une correspondance avec Augustin. Ces lettres nous apprennent que Volusianus n'était pas chrétien et que l'évêque tenta vainement de le convertir¹³⁹. De plus, nous découvrons que Volusianus comptait parmi ses amis le chrétien Marcellinus¹⁴⁰ qui chercha lui aussi, sans plus de succès, à le convertir¹⁴¹.

En 436, notre personnage fut envoyé en ambassade à Constantinople afin d'y préparer les noces de l'empereur Valentinien III avec Eudoxie. Selon le récit de Gêrontios, Volusianus aurait adressé une lettre à sa nièce, Mélanie la Jeune, pour l'informer de sa prochaine venue dans la capitale de l'Empire d'Orient. Mélanie, désireuse de rencontrer son

¹³⁶ La préfecture de la Ville est confirmée par deux inscriptions de Rome: *CIL* VI 1161 et 1194. Ces documents mentionnent également une seconde mission d'appel. CHASTAGNOL (1956) 244-245, (1962) 278, pense que Volusianus fut chargé d'une première mission durant son proconsulat d'Afrique et réfute l'hypothèse de deux préfectures urbaines.

¹³⁷ *Cod. Theod.* VII 13.22 (25 février 428); I 10.8 et XII 6.32 (27 février 428); XI 1.35 (14 février 429); *Cod. Iust.* I 14.4 (11 juin 429); XI 71.5 (non datée). Il est probable que sa préfecture prit fin le 24 décembre 418, lorsque débuta celle de Symmaque, neveu de l'orateur.

¹³⁸ CHASTAGNOL (1956) 246 a établi que notre personnage fut proconsul à 30 ans environ et qu'il devint préfet de la Ville à 35 ans, ce qui était plutôt rare à son époque; et d'ajouter: «cette ascension rapide, plus qu'à ses mérites, est due sans conteste à la faveur impériale et à l'éclat de sa famille».

¹³⁹ Aug., *epist.* 134: dans cette première lettre datée de 412 Augustin invitait Volusianus à lire les Saintes Écritures et à lui poser toutes les questions qu'il souhaitait. La même année, Volusianus répondit à Augustin dans une lettre conservée dans la correspondance de l'évêque et dans laquelle il exprimait ses doutes notamment au sujet de la virginité de Marie et du mystère de l'Incarnation (Aug., *epist.* 135). Il est intéressant de relever que Volusianus connaissait suffisamment bien les dogmes chrétiens pour pouvoir en discuter et s'interroger sur des questions essentielles. Comme son père avant lui, Volusianus était sceptique face à la question de l'Incarnation. Rappelons que Caecilius Rufinus Albinus avait échangé des propos avec Ambroise à ce sujet.

¹⁴⁰ *PCBE* I 671-688 (*Marcellinus* 2).

¹⁴¹ Une troisième épître conservée dans la correspondance de l'évêque, échangée entre Marcellinus et Augustin, nous apprend que Marcellinus fut «mandaté» par la mère de Volusianus afin de lui rendre de fréquentes visites et surtout de l'influencer dans ses pratiques religieuses (Aug., *epist.* 136). Ce texte prouve d'ailleurs que la mère de Volusianus était chrétienne.

oncle et surtout voulant tenter elle aussi de le convertir, quitta Jérusalem pour aller à sa rencontre¹⁴². À son arrivée à Constantinople, Volusianus tomba gravement malade. Alité, il reçut la visite de sa nièce qui le pressa à la conversion, menaçant même «d'en référer aux empereurs». Toujours selon G érontios, Volusianus aurait souhaité bénéficier de son libre arbitre sans être contraint à modifier ses pratiques religieuses¹⁴³. Mélanie ne se serait pas résolue et aurait prié certains personnages de haut rang, parmi lesquels Proclus, évêque de Constantinople, de faire pression sur son oncle. Son état de santé empira et peu avant de mourir Volusianus demanda et reçut le baptême. Mélanie l'assista dans ces derniers instants et le fit communier à trois reprises avant sa mort survenue le 6 janvier 437¹⁴⁴.

Volusianus refusa sa vie durant de se convertir au christianisme. Il fit l'objet de pressions de la part de sa nièce ainsi que de certaines personnalités chrétiennes. Finalement, il accepta le baptême sur son lit de mort, à Constantinople. C'est du moins la version donnée par le chrétien G érontios, biographe et chapelain de Mélanie. Il est intéressant de relever que cette dernière n'hésita pas à menacer son oncle d'en référer aux empereurs s'il s'entêtait dans son refus de conversion¹⁴⁵. Ainsi, bien que le christianisme fût la religion officielle de l'Empire depuis plusieurs années, le polythéisme n'avait pas encore totalement disparu. En outre, la fidélité de Volusianus pour les anciens cultes ne l'empêcha pas de réaliser une brillante carrière, ni de bénéficier de la faveur impériale.

¹⁴² *Vita Melaniae* 50. G érontios accompagna Mélanie dans ce voyage et le biographe nous rapporte tous les détails de cette rencontre. À noter que G érontios demeure notre seul témoignage à ce sujet.

¹⁴³ *Vita Melaniae* 53.

¹⁴⁴ *Vita Melaniae* 54-55.

¹⁴⁵ Sur la conversion de Volusianus, CHASTAGNOL (1956) 252-253 suppose, à la suite du cardinal M. Rampolla del Tindaro, que notre personnage était le destinataire d'un poème attribué à Pseudo-Paulin intitulé *Poema ultimum*. L'auteur, un récent converti, présente son cas en s'adressant à un païen du nom d'Antonius en vue de le pousser lui aussi à la conversion. Les deux savants ont fait remarquer qu'Antonius était l'un des quatre noms portés par Volusianus. De plus, la similarité des deux cas nous autorise à penser que Volusianus devint une sorte «d'exemple». Il fut perçu comme «le païen par excellence» qu'il fallait enfin convertir afin de convaincre les derniers défenseurs du paganisme à renier leur foi et à se ranger, eux aussi, dans les rangs de l'église chrétienne. C'est cette même idée qui ressort du texte de G érontios sans oublier que son but était de louer Mélanie et de faire de sa vie un modèle d'excellence.

ANALYSES

Au terme de cette première partie, nous constatons que la conversion complète de la *gens* Caeionia ne fut pas immédiate et qu'elle nécessita au moins un siècle. En effet, la première figure chrétienne fut Albina (vers 318-388), alors que le dernier représentant païen fut Rufius Antonius Agrypnus Volusianus (né vers 382 et converti sur son lit de mort en 437). Dans la période qui sépare ces deux marqueurs chronologiques, plusieurs membres chrétiens de la famille se sont illustrés de manière tout à fait exceptionnelle: Marcella¹⁴⁶, Pammachius, Laeta, Paula la Jeune, Mélanie la Jeune, Caeionia Albina et Pinien. Tous influencèrent leurs proches et leurs contemporains par leur choix de vie, par leur renoncement au bien-être et aux richesses dues à leur rang, par leurs relations amicales avec des docteurs de l'Église, par leurs connaissances approfondies des Écritures et surtout par leur tempérament. Ils surent s'imposer et imposer leurs convictions autour d'eux, fasciner leurs contemporains et servir de modèles. C'est du moins la version idéalisée que nous ont transmis les pères de l'Église, car tout ce que nous savons de ces «modèles exemplaires d'ascèse», nous le tenons de ces écrits souvent biaisés.

Malgré ces grandes figures chrétiennes, la pénétration du christianisme fut dans un premier temps vouée à l'échec. Le paganisme demeurait encore très ancré au sein de l'aristocratie et, comme nous venons de le voir, notamment chez les *Caeionii*. En effet, nombreux sont les membres de cette *gens* qui occupèrent des fonctions sacerdotales dans les cultes dits orientaux et dans la religion romaine traditionnelle. Citons à ce propos plusieurs cellules familiales particulièrement actives: Caecina Sabinus appartenait aux clergés de Mithra, de la Mère des dieux et d'Hécate; son fils aîné Rufius Caeionius Sabinus fut taurobolié, hiérophante d'Hécate, «père» dans le culte de Mithra ainsi que pontife majeur et augure; son fils cadet fut lui aussi fidèle aux anciens cultes sans avoir, à notre connaissance, exercé de sacerdoce. Citons encore la famille formée par C. Caeionius Rufius Volusianus Lampadius, son épouse Caecina Lolliana ainsi

¹⁴⁶ SALZMAN (2002) 144 pense que: «A Melania the Elder or a Marcella, early fourth-century female aristocratic Christians, appears to be an individual case, representative of the beginnings of a movement toward Christianity but not the predominant trend in the Roman aristocracy at large». Certes, nous avons au sein de la *gens* Caeionia des personnalités tout à fait exceptionnelles, qui ne sont pas représentatives de l'ensemble de la société. C'est justement pour cette raison que les pères de l'Église prirent ces personnalités comme «modèles» pour leurs contemporains.

que leurs six enfants. Lampadius fut taurobolié, «père» dans le culte de Mithra, hiérophante d'Hécate, prophète d'Isis et pontife de Sol. Caecinia Lolliana fut prêtresse d'Isis. Leur fils Caecionius Rufius Volusianus se soumit au taurobole à deux reprises. Leur fille Sabina fut elle aussi une initiée aux mystères de la Mère des dieux (ou d'Eleusis) et d'Hécate. Leur seconde fille Rufia Volusiana et son époux Petronius Apollodorus furent des tauroboliés, ce dernier étant également pontife majeur, *quindecimvir sacris faciundis* et «père» dans le culte de Mithra. Enfin Publilius Caecionius Caecina Albinus fut pontife de Vesta alors que son frère Caecionius Rufius Albinus ne semble pas avoir recouvert de fonction sacerdotale, mais s'opposa à Ambroise sur des questions théologiques.

Ainsi les *Caecionii* qui refusèrent la conversion n'en furent pas moins des personnalités engagées et actives dans les cultes traditionnels. Plusieurs d'entre eux témoignèrent de leurs pratiques religieuses, de leurs fonctions et de leurs initiations par le biais de l'épigraphie¹⁴⁷. Les autels qu'ils érigeaient devaient témoigner publiquement et pour l'éternité de leur attachement aux anciens cultes. Nous soulignerons d'ailleurs que le culte de la Mère des dieux semble avoir joué un rôle non négligeable dans cette illustre famille¹⁴⁸. Rappelons également que les *Caecionii* figurent dans diverses œuvres littéraires rédigées par leurs contemporains, et qu'ils sont connus pour avoir fréquenté les cercles de l'aristocratie païenne, en particulier celui de Vettius Agorius Praetextatus.

Nous insistions sur le fait que la pénétration du christianisme fut dans un premier temps vouée à l'échec. Un autre motif pourrait expliquer cet état de fait. Ainsi que le souligne Claude Lepelley¹⁴⁹ en parlant des premiers chrétiens, ceux-ci furent portés vers un ascétisme extrême: célibat,

¹⁴⁷ SALZMAN (2002) souligne que l'épigraphie fut l'apanage des hommes. Il est vrai que chez les *Caecionii* les femmes n'ont laissé que peu de témoignages épigraphiques. Elles sont d'ailleurs souvent mentionnées conjointement à leurs époux ou à leurs fils sur les documents épigraphiques (par exemple Caecinia Lolliana figure sur l'autel taurobolique de son fils, et Rufia Volusiana commémore son initiation au taurobole avec son époux).

¹⁴⁸ CHASTAGNOL (1961) 754 constate que: «s'il est évident que le culte métroaque avait une place de premier plan dans les préoccupations des Caecinae Sabini et des Caecionii entre l'avènement de Valentinien Ier et la défaite d'Eugène, il est manifeste que Cybèle et Attis ne régnaient pas sans partage dans leurs cœurs. Ils accumulent en effet sacerdoces romains traditionnels et prêtrises des autres cultes orientaux». Il nous semble néanmoins que le taurobole fut l'initiation la plus prisee dans cette *gens* et qu'il est fort possible que des initiations «familiales» furent pratiquées. Cette question s'insère d'ailleurs dans la réflexion sur la transmission religieuse au sein de la famille.

¹⁴⁹ LEPELLEY (1997-1998).

veuvage prolongé, abstinence sexuelle. Il s'agit d'exemples «égoïstes» qui pratiquèrent une forme personnelle de religiosité inspirée par l'expérience des moines d'Égypte. Ce faisant, ces premiers chrétiens ne visèrent pas un but durable. À leur mort, ils ne laissèrent pas de descendance susceptible de poursuivre leur œuvre. Toutefois, il nous paraît intéressant d'apporter quelques précisions sur cette forme d'ascèse sexuelle¹⁵⁰. En premier lieu, soulignons que le célibat ne fut pas une nouveauté apportée par le christianisme. Des vierges païennes sont attestées précédemment. Citons à titre d'exemple les Vestales, même si au sein de la *gens* Caeionia aucune femme n'a exercé cette fonction. Relevons encore que les différences qui opposent les vierges Vestales aux vierges chrétiennes sont nombreuses et qu'elles furent déjà débattues dans la littérature du Bas-Empire¹⁵¹. De plus, au sein même de l'Église chrétienne des III^{ème} et IV^{ème} s. ap. J.-C. la virginité se trouvait au cœur d'un débat littéraire et théologique important et les opinions à ce sujet pouvaient être contradictoires puisque le célibat remettait en cause à la fois le mariage institué par Dieu et la procréation¹⁵². Il nous paraît encore important de mettre en évidence que dans les exemples examinés ici, le but initial des premiers chrétiens issus de la *gens* Caeionia ne fut pas de pratiquer une abstinence sexuelle. Albina ne s'imposa ni le célibat ni la chasteté puisqu'elle fut mariée et devint mère. Ce n'est qu'après la mort de son époux qu'elle persista dans son veuvage. Il en va de même pour sa fille Marcella: ce n'est qu'après la mort de son époux qu'elle décida de maintenir son statut de veuve et refusa une seconde union. Citons également Pammachius et son épouse Paulina qui mourut en couches en même temps que l'enfant qu'elle portait. Selon Jérôme, Paulina voulait à tout prix donner naissance

¹⁵⁰ Sur cette question nous renvoyons à BROWN (1995).

¹⁵¹ Sur l'opposition entre vierges païennes et chrétiennes: SCHILLING (1979); GARRIDO GONZÁLEZ (1993-1998). En résumé, les Vestales étaient recrutées par le *pontifex maximus* entre six et dix ans afin d'être consacrées au service de la divinité. Elles se devaient de rester vierges conformément à leur vœu, non pas par décision personnelle mais pour le bien de la communauté. Leur chasteté était un état de pureté imposé par leurs devoirs rituels. Leur service durait trente ans et elles vivaient confinées dans l'*atrium Vestae* à l'exception des sorties officielles. Au terme de leur service, elles retrouvaient leur place dans la société et pouvaient alors se marier et éventuellement devenir mères. Chez les chrétiennes, la virginité était également un état de pureté, mais elle n'était en aucun cas bénéfique pour la société. Il s'agissait d'un choix personnel qui symbolisait la consécration totale au Christ. La virginité était une véritable vocation, un idéal que la chrétienne embrassait pour toute une vie.

¹⁵² Cf. BROWN (1995) qui reprend la position des pères de l'Église au sujet de la virginité tout au long du christianisme ancien en retraçant l'évolution des différents courants. Voir également ALEXANDRE (1991), en particulier 442-443.

à un enfant avant de se consacrer à la chasteté. Malgré ses nombreuses fausses couches, elle ne désespérait pas car son but était «d'enfanter des vierges du Christ»¹⁵³. Après le décès de Paulina, Pammachius ne se remaria pas¹⁵⁴, prolongeant son statut de veuf. Enfin mentionnons Mélanie la Jeune qui affrontera le décès de ses deux enfants avant de convaincre son époux à ne plus avoir de relations sexuelles et d'entamer ensemble une nouvelle existence comme frère et sœur¹⁵⁵.

Ces exemples prouvent que les premiers chrétiens issus de la *gens* Caecilia ne visèrent pas, du moins dans un premier temps, une forme quelconque de célibat ni d'abstinence sexuelle. Bien au contraire, ils furent tous mariés et eurent des enfants. Les chrétiens qui vouèrent leur vie à un idéal extrême d'ascèse le firent après la perte d'un enfant ou d'un conjoint, ou des deux¹⁵⁶. La seule exception à cette règle est Paula la Jeune sur laquelle nous reviendrons plus en détail, mais avant arrêtons-nous sur la question des mariages.

Qu'en est-il des unions matrimoniales durant le Bas-Empire? Les mariages mixtes étaient-ils autorisés, favorisés, tolérés ou interdits? Pouvons-nous déceler une règle en vigueur chez les *Caecilonii*? À ce propos citons un passage particulièrement intéressant tiré de l'épître 107 de Jérôme:

Si une femme a un mari incroyant, et que celui-ci soit d'accord avec elle pour habiter ensemble, qu'elle ne quitte pas son mari. Car un mari incroyant peut être sanctifié par une épouse croyante; de même, une femme incroyante peut être sanctifiée par un frère. Autrement, vos enfants seraient impurs, alors qu'au contraire ils sont saints¹⁵⁷.

À en croire ce témoignage, l'Eglise chrétienne autorisait et reconnaissait les unions mixtes, mais surtout elle les encourageait car un chrétien au

¹⁵³ Hier., *epist.* 66.3.

¹⁵⁴ Il est d'ailleurs intéressant de souligner que Paulina et Pammachius ne furent pas en mesure d'assurer la continuité de leur famille et que sans une branche païenne, la *gens* Caecilia se serait éteinte.

¹⁵⁵ Nous noterons d'ailleurs que Mélanie l'Ancienne fut elle aussi veuve à 22 ans et qu'elle affronta la mort de deux de ses enfants et qu'elle fit plusieurs fausses couches (cf. Paul. Nol., *epist.* 29.8). Les destins de la grand-mère et de la petite-fille sont très similaires.

¹⁵⁶ Il semble qu'au IV^{ème} s. ap. J.-C., les chrétiens issus de l'aristocratie romaine ne se vouaient à une continence parfaite qu'après avoir accompli leurs devoirs de procréation et après avoir assuré la continuité de leur famille. Lorsqu'ils subissaient la mort d'un enfant, ils renonçaient alors à la procréation, décelant peut-être un signe de la volonté de Dieu ou, dans les cas des femmes, une incapacité à accomplir leur devoir d'épouse.

¹⁵⁷ Hier., *epist.* 107: *Si qua mulier habet uirum infidelem, et hic consentit habitare cum ea, ne dimittat uirum. Sanctificatus est enim uir infidelis in uxore fidei; et sanctificata est mulier infidelis in fratre. Alioquin filii uestri immundi essent; nunc autem sancti sunt.*

sein d'une famille pouvait en convertir un autre depuis l'intérieur. L'Église chrétienne ne s'était pas trompée puisqu'un siècle après la pénétration du christianisme au sein de la *gens* Caeionia, le dernier représentant païen se convertit et nous avons vu quelles furent les pressions exercées sur lui par ses proches parents. Toutefois la conception de Jérôme n'était pas généralisée au sein de l'Église et elle mérite une clarification. À la même époque, Ambroise avait un avis très différent sur la question. L'évêque de Milan refusait catégoriquement toute idée de «mélange» qui aurait pu «polluer» l'Église¹⁵⁸. Ceci valait également pour les unions matrimoniales. Rappelons d'ailleurs que Constance édictera une série de lois¹⁵⁹, renouvelées par ses successeurs, visant à interdire les mariages entre chrétiens et juifs, ainsi que les unions conclues avec une vierge consacrée. Ainsi les unions entre chrétiens et païens étaient tolérées par l'Église et par la loi romaine (et ne furent jamais formellement interdites), alors que les mariages conclus entre chrétiens et juifs étaient prohibés¹⁶⁰.

Selon les études menées par Michele R. Salzman, les mariages mixtes furent relativement peu fréquents. En règle générale, les chrétiens se mariaient entre eux et les païens faisaient de même de leur côté¹⁶¹. Toutefois, notre étude a permis de relever quatre mariages mixtes chez les *Caeionii*: citons les unions entre le païen Caeionius Rufius Albinus et une femme peut-être chrétienne, le païen Valerius Publicola et la chrétienne Caeionia Albina, le païen Publilius Caeionius Caecina Albinus et une femme chrétienne, et enfin la chrétienne Laeta et Toxotius qui fut dans un premier temps païen. Précisons encore que nos sources ne sont pas toujours très claires en ce qui concerne les pratiques religieuses des femmes. Nous avons d'ailleurs constaté qu'elles sont souvent anonymes et que les sources littéraires ne se sont guère intéressées à elles, à l'exception des chrétiennes pour lesquelles les pères de l'Église et la littérature hagiographique nous ont transmis une foule de renseignements.

Nous dénombrons également quelques unions conclues entre coreligionnaires. Parmi les unions païennes citons C. Caeionius Rufius Volusianus Lampadius et Caecinia Lolliana, ainsi que Rufia Volusiana et Petronius Apollodorus; du côté chrétien mentionnons Pammachius et Paulina¹⁶².

¹⁵⁸ Ambr., *epist.* 19.2 (*PL* vol. 16, col. 1024B).

¹⁵⁹ *Cod. Theod.* XVI 8.6 (datée de 339); III 7.2 (datée de 388); *Cod. Iust.* I 4.16 (datée de 476).

¹⁶⁰ Voir GAUDEMET (1980), en particulier 131-132.

¹⁶¹ SALZMAN (1989) et (2002) chap. V.

¹⁶² Il est probable que d'autres unions furent conclues entre païens ou entre chrétiens, mais nos sources ne nous permettent pas de l'affirmer avec certitude. C'est pourquoi,

La question des mariages nous amène à nous interroger sur la transmission de la religion au sein d'un noyau familial¹⁶³. L'exemple fournit par la *gens* Caeconia prouve que dans le cas d'unions conclues entre deux personnes païennes ou deux personnes chrétiennes, les enfants suivent les pratiques religieuses de leurs géniteurs (par exemple Lampadius et son épouse Caecinia Lolliana ainsi que leurs six enfants furent tous païens). Alors que dans le cas de mariages mixtes, l'éducation des enfants semble avoir été elle aussi mixte. En effet, chez les *Caecionii* nous constatons que la conversion ne fut pas facile et que certains noyaux familiaux n'étaient ni entièrement païen ni entièrement chrétien. Pour preuve citons le cas de la chrétienne Caeconia Albina. Elle est le fruit d'un mariage mixte: sa mère semble avoir été chrétienne et son père païen. Son frère demeurait un païen convaincu, tout comme son époux Valerius Publicola. Rappelons que ce dernier était le fils de sainte Mélanie l'Ancienne, une chrétienne particulièrement active. Albina et Publicola eurent deux enfants: un fils qui fut peut-être un païen et une fille qui fut l'une des chrétiennes les plus actives de la famille. Ainsi une cellule familiale pouvait réunir autant de membres chrétiens que de membres païens.

Selon Peter Brown, au sein des familles chrétiennes le contrôle exercé par les parents sur le choix religieux et sur l'avenir matrimonial de leurs enfants demeurait très fort¹⁶⁴. Souvent ce furent eux qui décidèrent de vouer leur fille à une condition virginale, afin d'en retirer un certain profit et d'assurer le salut de l'ensemble de la maisonnée par la présence

nous n'avons cité ici que les cas pour lesquels aucun doute n'est possible. De plus, nous n'avons retenu que les exemples pour lesquels une conversion n'est pas intervenue postérieurement au mariage et suite à l'influence de l'un ou de l'autre époux (cf. Mélanie et Pinien). À titre de comparaison, nous renvoyons à SALZMAN (1989), en particulier 214. Dans cette étude, l'auteur a travaillé sur un corpus de 319 personnages, hommes et femmes de l'ordre sénatorial, qui vécurent entre 282 et 423 ap. J.-C., en tentant de redimensionner la place des femmes dans la conversion des grandes familles. L'auteur s'est notamment intéressée aux mariages mixtes au sein de cet échantillon. Elle constate qu'en règle générale, les chrétiens se marient entre eux et que les païens font de même, ceci dans 89% des cas. Selon cette étude, les mariages mixtes furent peu nombreux au sein de l'aristocratie. Voir également SALZMAN (2002), chap. V entièrement consacré aux femmes de l'aristocratie.

¹⁶³ Nous noterons que la question de l'enseignement religieux et de sa transmission au sein de la famille dans le monde romain païen n'a été que peu abordée par les spécialistes. Voir BREMMER (1995); SALZMAN (2002) 155-161. Selon Bremmer, à Rome dans le contexte païen, l'éducation religieuse se faisait essentiellement de manière informelle et orale, soit au sein de la famille soit au sein des collèges religieux, et surtout par l'observation et la participation aux rites privés et publics.

Par rapport à la transmission des pratiques religieuses, selon Salzman lors des mariages mixtes, le fils suit son père, alors que la fille suit sa mère.

¹⁶⁴ BROWN (1995).

d'une vierge. Ils favorisaient la vocation de leurs enfants en les maintenant dans l'isolement. Au sein de la *gens* Caecilia, un exemple illustre cette situation: Paula la Jeune. Elle fut la seule véritable vierge consacrée, mais dans son cas pouvons-nous réellement parler d'une vocation et d'un choix personnel? Paula fut vouée par ses parents dès sa naissance et sa mère se préoccupa très tôt de lui fournir une éducation «adéquate». Le programme éducatif que Jérôme dressa pour elle prouve que son destin fut décidé par ses parents et que sa «vocation de vierge» fut, en quelque sorte, imposée par sa famille.

Du côté païen, André Chastagnol est d'avis que les pères de famille avaient tenu à maintenir la tradition païenne pour leur principal héritier et que, faisant «la part du feu», ils avaient abandonné leurs autres enfants à l'influence de leurs épouses chrétiennes¹⁶⁵. À notre avis, cette thèse mérite d'être nuancée puisque l'exemple de la *gens* Caecilia montre que la transmission des pratiques religieuses pouvait se faire de père en fils, mais également de père en fille, voire même d'époux à épouse¹⁶⁶.

Interrongeons-nous à présent sur le rôle qu'ont joué les femmes dans ce débat religieux. Nombreux sont les spécialistes qui ont affirmé leur place dans la conversion des grandes familles¹⁶⁷. André Chastagnol¹⁶⁸ avait d'ailleurs souligné la place des femmes dans la conversion de la *gens* Caecilia. Il est vrai que chez les *Caecilii*, les figures féminines semblent plus nombreuses, plus engagées, plus convaincues de leurs

¹⁶⁵ CHASTAGNOL (1956) 251.

¹⁶⁶ À ce propos nous pouvons citer quelques exemples qui prouvent que les pères de famille ne favorisèrent pas que leurs fils premiers-nés: C. Caecilius Rufius Volusianus Lampadius fut hiérophante d'Hécate et taurobolié de la Mère des dieux. Sa fille Sabina fut elle aussi initiée aux mystères d'Hécate et compta parmi les tauroboliés de la grande Mère. Sa sœur, Rufia Volusiana, et son beau-frère, Petronius Apollodorus, furent eux aussi des tauroboliés. Notons enfin que Lampadius fut prophète d'Isis et que son épouse, Caecilia Lolliana, fut prêtresse d'Isis.

¹⁶⁷ Le premier travail qui soutint cette thèse fut celui de HARNACK (1902), suivi par certains spécialistes féministes, de même que par BROWN (1961), MOINE (1980), YARBROUGH (1976), ALEXANDRE (1991). C'est d'ailleurs l'image que laissent entrevoir les auteurs chrétiens de cette période, en particulier la correspondance de Jérôme, qui présentent ces femmes comme des modèles et de véritables instigatrices à la conversion. Toutefois ces textes sont biaisés. Les études plus récentes qui s'interrogent sur le rôle des femmes dans la conversion tendent à nuancer et à minimiser leur influence. Voir à ce propos les travaux particulièrement intéressants de SALZMAN (1989) 208 et 2002, chap. V, qui démontrent de manière statistique que les femmes ne se sont pas converties avant les hommes, que les mariages mixtes furent peu fréquents et que dans ces quelques cas, l'influence des femmes sur leurs époux et leurs enfants fut moindre.

¹⁶⁸ CHASTAGNOL (1956).

choix et surtout plus charismatiques. Nous remarquons que les femmes agirent à deux niveaux : dans le privé sur elles mêmes, leurs enfants et leurs proches parents — mais pas toujours avec succès¹⁶⁹ —, et sur la société en fondant des monastères et favorisant la conversion de personnes externes à leur cercle familial.

Si les parents pouvaient exercer une influence sur leur progéniture, il est important de souligner également la place particulière occupée par les «veuves chrétiennes». Le cas d'Albina et de sa fille Marcella illustrera parfaitement ce propos. Albina semble s'être convertie après la mort de son époux, c'est-à-dire en l'absence du *pater familias*. Il en va de même pour Marcella qui se convertit après les décès de son père et de son époux. Lorsqu'elle demeura veuve, vu son jeune âge et surtout le rang et la fortune de sa famille, elle aurait dû se remarier et c'est précisément ce que tenta de faire Albina en se substituant au père de famille. Toutefois selon Jérôme, Marcella aurait convaincu sa mère de renoncer à son dessein et de la soutenir dans son nouvel idéal de vie. Les deux femmes étaient alors veuves, libérées d'une tutelle masculine, à la tête d'une fortune considérable et surtout libres de choisir leur mode de vie. Ainsi, les «veuves chrétiennes» ont pu décider de leur destinée et influencer ou protéger les choix religieux de leurs filles¹⁷⁰ en se substituant au *pater familias*. Nous décelons ainsi une certaine liberté d'action, du moins en l'absence d'un représentant masculin, ainsi qu'une certaine «solidarité féminine».

Du côté païen, les choses sont différentes. Tout d'abord, il convient de rappeler que les femmes païennes n'ont pas été célébrées dans la littérature de leur époque comme ce fut le cas pour certaines chrétiennes. Elles apparaissent donc comme plus discrètes et ayant joué un rôle moindre. Néanmoins, à la différence des chrétiennes qui étaient exclues des

¹⁶⁹ Dans le cas de mariages mixtes par exemple, nous avons vu que les maris ne se laissèrent pas toujours «détourner» par leurs épouses chrétiennes (cf. Caeionius Rufius Albinus, Valerius Publicola et Publilius Caeionius Caecina Albinus qui restèrent tous païens malgré leurs épouses chrétiennes. Seule Laeta parvint à convertir son époux Toxotius). Nous avons vu également les pressions exercées par Laeta sur son père, Publilius Caeionius Caecina Albinus, sans grand succès.

¹⁷⁰ Comme autre exemple, nous pouvons citer le cas d'Albina et de sa fille Mélanie la Jeune. Albina était veuve lorsque sa fille voulu renoncer à une vie de couple «normale» pour se tourner vers l'ascétisme et le célibat (à différence de Marcella, Mélanie n'était pas veuve : elle était encore mariée). Dans ce second exemple, il est intéressant de noter que deux veuves protégèrent les choix de Mélanie : sa mère Albina et sa grand-mère Mélanie l'Ancienne (veuve elle aussi depuis plusieurs années). Sur cette question voir également SALZMAN (2002) 164-166.

fonctions dirigeantes, les païennes pouvaient quant à elles appartenir à un clergé et remplir des fonctions sacerdotales. Elles commémoraient alors leurs fonctions et leurs initiations par le biais de l'épigraphie, fournissant ainsi un témoignage personnel de leur dévotion. Au sein de la *gens* Caeionia, les païennes sont moins nombreuses et elles ne paraissent pas avoir transmis leur «vocation» directement à leurs filles¹⁷¹. Le seul exemple qui peut être cité est celui de Caecinia Lolliana, prêtresse d'Isis, et de ses deux filles Sabina et Rufia Volusiana. Les deux sœurs furent des tauroboliées de la Mère des dieux, de plus Rufia Volusiana fut initiée aux mystères d'Hécate. Mais aucune des deux filles n'a repris la fonction sacerdotale de leur mère au sein du culte d'Isis.

Pour terminer, nous nous sommes demandé si des pratiques religieuses spécifiques avaient pu influencer ou non la carrière politique des sénateurs des IV^{ème} et V^{ème} s. ap. J.-C. Cette recherche a mis en évidence que tous les membres masculins païens de la *gens* Caeionia occupèrent les plus hautes fonctions de Rome (préfecture de la Ville, préfecture du prétoire, consulat), parfois même à deux reprises¹⁷². Le cas de Rufius Antonius Agrypnus Volusianus est particulièrement intéressant. Dernier représentant de cette famille à refuser la conversion, il fut questeur du palais, préfet de la Ville puis préfet du prétoire et même chargé d'organiser les noces impériales alors que le christianisme était officiellement la religion d'État. Il réalisa donc une brillante carrière et bénéficia de la confiance de l'empereur. Parallèlement, nous remarquons qu'aucun des *Caeionii* chrétien ne fit carrière dans l'administration romaine. La seule exception demeure Pammachius qui fut avocat et proconsul d'Afrique. Toutefois, nous noterons que son proconsulat se place antérieurement à 396, c'est-à-dire avant la mort de son épouse et avant qu'il ne se consacre à une vie ascétique et monastique, et que par la suite aucune magistrature n'est attestée¹⁷³.

¹⁷¹ Sur la question de la transmission des convictions religieuses chez les païennes du Bas-Empire, voir MARTÍNEZ-MAZA (2003). L'auteur utilise la documentation épigraphique de Rome et sur la base de sept femmes (dont Caecinia Lolliana et ses deux filles), elle s'interroge sur la «filiation religieuse» et sur la diffusion des religions dites orientales au sein d'un même noyau familial.

¹⁷² Sur l'importance des *Caeionii* (branche principale et secondaires) au sein de l'administration: CHASTAGNOL (1962); CLEMENTE (1969) 642. Elle fut l'une des familles qui a détenu le plus grand nombre de charges administratives des provinces d'Italie. Nous rappellerons également le rôle joué par les *Caeionii* en Afrique.

¹⁷³ Pour une vue d'ensemble, nous renvoyons à SALZMAN (2002), chap. IV. L'auteur constate que jusqu'au règne de Gratien et Valentinien I^{er}, les fonctions administratives

CONCLUSION

En guise de conclusion nous souhaitons revenir sur le climat religieux de la période qui nous a occupée, ainsi que sur le type de relations entretenues entre les membres chrétiens et les non-chrétiens au sein de cette *gens*. Peter Brown affirme que «le IV^e siècle ne fut absolument pas un siècle dominé par le conflit entre paganisme et christianisme», et d'ajouter que «Rien n'aurait été plus pénible pour un membre des classes aisées de l'Empire tardif que de s'entendre dire que “païen” et “chrétien” étaient des désignations d'importance primordiale pour leur style de vie, pour le choix de leurs amis et alliés»¹⁷⁴. Notre étude sur la *gens* Caeionia a permis de mettre en évidence une phase de cohabitation durant laquelle païens et chrétiens se côtoient, tentent de s'influencer les uns les autres et débattent sur des questions dogmatiques. Les relations entretenues entre les représentants des deux groupes ne semblent pas avoir été particulièrement conflictuelles. Sommes-nous en présence d'une «peaceful coexistence»¹⁷⁵? Plusieurs exemples prouvent que les *Caeionii* ont évolué dans un climat de tolérance et de compromis. Ceci transparaît dans le fait qu'Albina demande à sa fille chrétienne dépourvue de descendance de transmettre son patrimoine à son oncle païen¹⁷⁶. Cette tolérance se retrouve également dans la description que Jérôme fait de Publilius Caeionius Caecina Albinus lorsqu'il écrit à Laeta. Jérôme se montre respectueux à l'égard du pontife de Vesta et imagine une scène familiale réunissant Albinus et ses parents convertis sans que cela ne pose le moindre problème. Nous percevons encore cette cohabitation dans les échanges épistolaires entre Ambroise et Caeionius Rufius Albinus, ainsi qu'entre Augustin et Rufius Antonius Agrypnius Volusianus sur des questions religieuses. Le ton est respectueux: ce n'est pas celui

furent majoritairement occupées par les aristocrates païens. Puis les choses changèrent progressivement. Sous Valentinien II, les aristocrates païens et les aristocrates chrétiens se partagèrent équitablement les postes, et à partir de 390 environ ce sont les aristocrates chrétiens qui occupèrent la majorité des postes.

¹⁷⁴ BROWN (1998) 104. Sur le climat du IV^{ème} siècle, nous renvoyons également à KAHLOS (2007).

¹⁷⁵ Nous empruntons cette expression à DODDS (1965) 107; également reprise par CRACCO RUGGINI (1972) (qui parle de «convivenza pacifica»). Cf. également KAHLOS (2007) 3-4. SALZMAN (2002) 135-136 propose de nuancer cette phase et d'identifier un processus de christianisation en deux étapes.

¹⁷⁶ Certains pourront percevoir cette affaire plutôt comme un conflit entre Albina et sa fille (voir SALZMAN [2002] 151-152).

de la polémique, ni celui de la critique, mais plutôt du dialogue entre deux personnes adeptes de pratiques religieuses différentes¹⁷⁷. Rappelons enfin que le même Volusianus comptait parmi ses amis le chrétien Marcellinus. Cette amitié est encore un signe de tolérance.

D'autres indices peuvent être avancés. Nous avons vu que la loi romaine ne s'opposa pas aux unions matrimoniales conclues entre chrétiens et païens, et que les mariages mixtes furent pratiqués — du moins au sein de la *gens* Caeionia — même s'ils ne semblent pas avoir été très fréquents. De plus, nous avons vu que les aristocrates qui refusaient la conversion continuèrent d'occuper des postes importants dans l'administration romaine et de bénéficier de la confiance des empereurs¹⁷⁸.

Toutefois, certains «conflits familiaux» sont également décelables au sein de la *gens* Caeionia. La conversion ne fut pas toujours acceptée de bon cœur surtout si celle-ci allait à l'encontre des intérêts de la famille. Mélanie la Jeune suscita la critique de ses proches au moins à deux reprises. En premier lieu, les sources précisent qu'elle fut contrainte à épouser Pinien, un bon parti. Il est évident que le mariage fut voulu par les deux familles dans un intérêt social et économique. Cette union devait unir deux familles aristocratiques et assurer leur descendance commune. Or, Mélanie ne fut pas en mesure de remplir son rôle d'épouse car elle mit au monde deux enfants qui moururent prématurément. Puis elle persuada son époux à renoncer à une descendance et à se tourner vers une vie ascétique. Son attitude choqua très certainement son proche entourage qui avait voulu cette union. En second lieu, Mélanie et Pinien se heurtèrent à leurs familles lorsqu'ils décidèrent de vendre leurs biens afin d'en redistribuer les profits aux pauvres. Publicola, le père de Mélanie s'opposa vivement à leur dessein, et Sévère, le frère de Pinien, fit de même¹⁷⁹. Les

¹⁷⁷ Il est possible que, dans ces lettres, Volusianus use d'ironie et tente de provoquer Augustin en lui posant des questions embarrassantes. L'évêque semble d'ailleurs emprunté. Peut-être s'agit-il d'un débat intellectuel, plutôt que d'un dialogue, mais en tous les cas le ton reste respectueux.

¹⁷⁸ Nous n'avons pas abordé ici la question des fêtes religieuses, mais durant le IV^{ème} s., diverses fêtes d'origine païenne perdurèrent et continuèrent d'attirer une grande partie de la population même chrétienne. Comme l'a démontré BELAYCHE (2007), ces fêtes représentaient «un possible terrain neutre» pour le profane, un lieu de consensus, de rencontre et de solidarité. C'est là encore un signe de ce climat de tolérance.

¹⁷⁹ Gérontios (*Vita Melaniae* 6-7) nous apprend que Mélanie obtint la bénédiction de son père sur son lit de mort (avant 406) mais que cela ne fut pas suffisant. Sévère s'opposait lui aussi à ce que son frère distribue aux pauvres les biens appartenant à leur famille. De même, il refusait que son frère renonce à un certain confort de vie dû à son rang social. Le comportement de Mélanie et Pinien pouvait susciter l'admiration, mais également soulever l'indignation des membres de l'aristocratie.

époux durent attendre 407/408 lorsque Séréna intercédâ pour eux auprès de son père, l'empereur Honorius¹⁸⁰.

Parallèlement à ces situations de compromis et de «conflits» au sein des familles, il est probable, comme le pense Maijastina Kahlos¹⁸¹, qu'un bon nombre d'individus n'étaient ni complètement chrétiens, ni complètement païens. Ces personnes étaient des indécis et sans doute ne faut-il pas négliger leur nombre. Il est d'ailleurs probable que certains membres de la *gens* Caecilia furent des *incerti*. Ceux-ci n'émergèrent pas des sources antiques puisqu'ils ne furent pas des personnalités charismatiques et exemplaires¹⁸².

Ceci nous amène enfin à préciser que la *gens* Caecilia demeure un cas tout à fait exceptionnel et que sa conversion n'est pas un exemple représentatif de l'ensemble de la société aristocratique romaine des IV^{ème}-V^{ème} s. ap. J.-C. Les choix de vie de certaines personnalités telles que Marcella¹⁸³ ou Mélanie la Jeune restent des cas isolés, même si Jérôme et Augustin voulurent en faire des modèles pour leurs contemporains. Ces femmes font figures d'exceptions et c'est justement la raison pour laquelle elles sont célébrées dans la littérature chrétienne et hagiographique. Il n'en demeure pas moins que ces personnalités tout à fait exceptionnelles contribuèrent grandement à la christianisation de leur l'entourage.

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¹⁸⁰ *Vita Melaniae* 11-14.

¹⁸¹ KAHLOS (2007).

¹⁸² Nous pensons par exemple au frère de Mélanie la Jeune qui fut ignoré des sources antiques païennes et chrétiennes. Nous songeons également aux diverses personnalités demeurées anonymes et pour lesquelles nous ne possédons pratiquement aucune information. Quant à M. Kahlos, elle voit en Rufius Antonius Agrypnius Volusianus un *incertus*, un homme rempli de doutes et qui hésite à se convertir, demandant conseil à Augustin et à Marcellinus.

¹⁸³ Marcella fut l'une des premières femmes aristocratiques à refuser un second mariage et à se tourner vers l'ascétisme. Dans ce sens, elle fut une pionnière et même si Jérôme présente son cas comme un modèle, le nombre réel de femmes aristocrates qui suivirent son exemple reste minime. Voir SALZMAN (2002) 186.

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TRIPHIS IN THE WHITE MONASTERY: REUSED TEMPLE BLOCKS FROM SOHAG

Abstract: Preliminary report on the Pharaonic and Graeco-Roman temple blocks reused in the Church of St. Shenoute near Sohag. While some materials can be traced to sites further south, including Abydos, Nag' el-Mesheyekh and el-Mensha (Ptolemais), previously unrecorded inscriptions confirm that a group of limestone ceiling blocks derive from the temple of Reptyt at nearby Atriye. This discovery may support Shenoute's repeated claims to have destroyed this particular temple.

«Almost everywhere in the Walls of the Monastery, in the Pavement that is before the Chancel, and in the great and beautiful pair of Stairs that lead up to the Sleeping-place of the Monks, are certain great Stones full of Cyphers and Hieroglyphick Figures placed not right; by which we may understand, that those that have put them there had no knowledge of this mysterious Tongue.»¹

The inscribed Pharaonic *spolia* within the Coptic church of St. Shenoute near Sohag have fascinated many visitors². The church was built c. 450 CE,

¹ Johann WANSLEBEN, *The Present State of Egypt, or: A New Relation of a Late Voyage into That Kingdom*, 1678, p. 225.

² PM V, p. 31; E. AMÉLINEAU, *Les moines égyptiens, vie de Schnoudi*, Paris 1889, p. 88; W.G. DE BOK, *Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie de l'Égypte chrétienne*, St. Petersburg 1901, p. 44, 46, 48; W.M.F. PETRIE, *Athribis*, 1908, p. 11 and 14; Id., *Ancient Egypt* 2, 1915, p. 27; S. CLARKE, *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, Oxford 1912, p. 148; G. LEFEBVRE, *Deir-el-Abiad*, in: F. CABROL – H. LECLERCQ (eds.), *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie (DACL)* IV 1, Paris 1920, col. 469-470; R. WEILL, *Monuments égyptiens divers*, XII: *Monuments d'Amasis et de Hakoris au Deir el-Abiad*, RT 36 (1914), p. 97-100; U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Les couvents près de Sohag*, II, Milan 1926, p. 123-124; H. KEES, *Kulttopographische und mythologische Beiträge*, ZÄS 64 (1931), p. 108-109; H. GAUTHIER, *Un autel consacré à la déesse Mehit*, ASAE 35 (1935), p. 207-212; S. SAUNERON, *Villes et légendes d'Égypte XXXII – Le chaudron de Sohag: comment naît une légende*, BIFAO 69 (1970), p. 54; P. VERNUS, *Inscriptions de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire (II): Blocs du grand-prêtre d'Amon 'Iwpwt remployés dans le Deir-el-Abyad*, BIFAO 75 (1975), p. 67-72; F.W. DEICHMANN, *Zum Altägyptischen in der koptischen Baukunst*, MDAIK 8 (1939), p. 36; Id., *Die Spolien in der spätantiken Architektur* (SAWM 1975, Band 6), Munich 1975, p. 56-60, Abb. 22-25; Cl. TRAUNECKER, *Essai sur l'histoire de la XXIX^e dynastie*, BIFAO 79 (1979), p. 408, 422, 433; B. VERBEECK, art. *Sohag*, in: LÄ V, col. 1052-1054; Id., *De Kloosterkerken bij Sohag: De architecturale beslechting van een ideologisch conflict*, *Phenix* 27 (1981), p. 94-96; H.G. SEVERIN, *Dayr Anbā Shinūdāh: Architectural Sculpture*, *Coptic Encyclopedia* III, New York 1991, p. 769; Y. EL-MASRY, *More Recent Excavations at Athribis in Upper Egypt*, MDAIK 57 (2001), p. 209; P. GROSSMANN, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten (HdO I, vol. 62)*, Leiden 2002, p. 171-172; O. PERDU, *Inscriptions Saïtes I*, Paris 2002, p. 82 (No. 13).

while Shenoute was archimandrite of a federation consisting of the so-called «White Monastery» and two other religious houses³. While some observers have speculated on the possible origins and religious significance of these pagan fragments, most of the reused blocks have remained unpublished. Beginning in 2007, the author conducted an epigraphic survey at the White Monastery in order to record all blocks presently visible in the church⁴. While a full publication of the Pharaonic blocks is still in progress, the present contribution highlights an object of particular importance for the history of the White Monastery and its region.

Nearly a century ago, Petrie suggested that the primary building material for the church of St. Shenoute came from the temple of Reptyt at Atripe⁵, the closest surviving stone monument, roughly three kilometers south of the White Monastery⁶. Although this hypothesis is quite reasonable, direct archaeological or textual evidence for such a provenance has not been published up to now⁷. Alternatively, Kees proposed that the

³ For a recent discussion of the construction date, see P. GROSSMANN, *Zur Stiftung und Bauzeit der grossen Kirche des Shenuteklosters bei Sühāq (Oberägypten)*, *ByzZ* 101 (2002), p. 35-54.

⁴ The epigraphic mission at Sohag is part of the White Monastery Church Documentation Project, directed by Bentley Layton, under the auspices of the Yale Monastic Archaeology Project, Stephen J. Davis, executive director. Our research was given generous support by the Marilyn M. and William K. Simpson Endowment Fund for Egyptology at Yale University, under the direction of John C. Darnell. For project updates and detailed maps of the church, see www.yale.edu/egyptology/aw_white.htm. The author would like to thank Bentley Layton for the invitation to work at the White Monastery, and for providing valuable suggestions on this project and the present article.

⁵ W.M.F. PETRIE, *Athribis*, p. 11 and 14; this suggestion is largely accepted today; see e.g. Y. EL-MASRY, *MDAIK* 57 (2001), p. 209; P. GROSSMANN, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten*, p. 171 and 532; K. LEMBKE – C. FLUCK – G. VITTMANN, *Ägyptens späte Blüte: Die Römer am Nil*, Mainz 2004, p. 110; C.T. SCHROEDER, *Monastic Bodies: Discipline and Salvation in Shenoute of Atripe*, Philadelphia 2007, p. 95.

⁶ Several Pharaonic tombs in the western gebel overlooking the White and Red Monasteries are even closer than Atripe (B. OCKINGA, *A Tomb from the Reign of Tutankhamun at Akhmim* [Reports of the Australian Centre for Egyptology 10], Warminster 1997; Y. EL-MASRY, *Rock-Tombs from the Late Old Kingdom in the 9th Nome of Upper Egypt*, *SAK* 36 [2007], p. 183-216), but they would not have provided blocks for the church.

⁷ G. WAGNER – V. RONDOT, *ZPE* 103 (1994), p. 250, n. 6, recently claimed: «Le texte de la *Vie de Chénouda* parle de la destruction et de la réutilisation des monuments antiques de la ville voisine et précise que cette question fut l'objet d'un désaccord entre le saint et les maçons, le premier préconisant le remploi contre l'avis des seconds.» However, the relevant section of the *Life of Shenoute* (cf. N. LUBOMIERSKI, *Die Vita Sinuthii* [STAC 45], Tübingen 2007, p. 44-45, Episode 21, for the sources), says nothing about the local town or the origin of the blocks. The dispute between Shenoute and his stone-masons only appears in the expanded Arabic redaction (E. AMÉLINEAU, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne aux IV^e et V^e siècles*, p. 353-354), and is apparently an allusion to the proverbial cornerstone which the builders rejected.

church was built on the site of an earlier temple of the god Horus-*imy-šnw.t*, since a naos of the latter god currently resides within the east end of the long hall of the church, and tentatively identified modern Sohag with Pharaonic toponym *Nšw* (var. *Ššw*), the cult center of this particular deity⁸.

Although many Pharaonic blocks were reused in the church walls, the majority of objects from the White Monastery that have already been published are merely scattered on the ground throughout site, both inside and outside of the church. These monuments include:

1. Blocks from a funerary monument of the Generalissimo and High Priest of Amun, Iuput (*Ywpt*), from Abydos (Dynasty Twenty-Two)⁹
2. Granite altar of the goddess Mehyt,¹⁰ dedicated by Necho II and usurped by Psammetichus II (Dynasty Twenty-Six)¹¹
3. Statue base of the general Neshor (Dynasty Twenty-Six)¹²
4. Granite naos of the god Horus-*imy-šnw.t*¹³, dedicated by Hakoris (Dynasty Twenty-Nine)¹⁴

⁸ H. KEES, *ZÄS* 64 (1931), p. 108.

⁹ P. VERNUS, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), p. 67-72; B. VERBEECK, *Phoenix* 27 (1981), p. 95, Fig. 22; C. MANASSA, *The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period*, I (ÄAT 72), Wiesbaden 2008, p. 4, n. 21; two additional blocks have been found since the publication of Vernus. For the name and career of *Ywpt* see recently F. COLIN, *Les Libyens en Égypte (XV^e siècle a.C. – II^e siècle p.C.)*. *Onomastique et histoire* (Diss. Brussels, 1996), I, p. 36-37, 57-58; II, p. 5-7.

¹⁰ For the goddess Mehyt of Eastern Behedet (Nag' el-Mesheyekh, near Girga), see primarily S. CAUVILLE, *L'hymne à Mehyt d'Edfou*, *BIFAO* 82 (1982), p. 105-125; O. PERDU, *Exemple de stèle archaïsante pour un prêtre modèle*, *RdE* 52 (2001), p. 184, n. 5 and 8; for an overview of the site, see recently B. OCKINGA – Y. AL-MASRI, *Two Ramesside Tombs at El-Mashayikh*, I, Sydney 1988, p. 1-2.

¹¹ H. GAUTHIER, *ASAE* 35 (1935), p. 207-212, only published the decoration of two sides of the altar based on photographs, but decoration is actually preserved on four sides; for the usurped cartouches on this altar, see recently R.B. GOZZOLI, *The Statue BM EA 37891 and the Erasure of Necho II's Names*, *JEA* 86 (2000), p. 73, I.b3 (with further bibliography).

¹² O. PERDU, *Socle d'une statue de Neshor à Abydos*, *RdE* 43 (1992), p. 145-162 (the statue is only known from the manuscripts of Golenischeff).

¹³ For this god, see primarily L.V. ŽABKAR, *A Hieracocephalous Deity from Naqa, Qustul and Philae*, *ZÄS* 102 (1971), p. 150-151; H. TE VELDE, *Horus imi-schenut*, in: *LÄ* III (1980), col. 47-48; and further E. BRESCIANI, *Hr imj-šnw.t, Hr imj-š3tjw oppure Hr imj-ḥ3tjw?*, in: *Hommages à François Daumas*, I, Montpellier 1986, p. 87-94; H. GOEDICKE, *Gods and Priests by the Hundreds?*, in: M. SCHADE-BUSCH (ed.), *Wege öffnen* (Fs. Gundlach) (ÄAT 35), Wiesbaden 1996, p. 73-79; Chr. LEITZ, ed., *LGG* I, p. 252; V, p. 244-245.

¹⁴ R. WEILL, *RT* 36 (1914), p. 97-99; a good photograph showing the position of the naos appears in P. GROSSMANN – D. BROOKS-HEDSTROM – M. ABDAL-RASSUL – E.S. BOLMAN,

5. Statue base dedicated in Greek to a King Ptolemy by Eidos of Alexandria¹⁵

Since these objects now serve no architectural purpose, it is impossible to determine when or how they came to Sohag, or to draw any conclusions concerning their role in the history of the church. In particular, there is no reason to accept the oft repeated conclusion that the church was built over an earlier temple of the hieracocephalic crocodile Horus-*imy-šnw.t*, or to identify *Nšw* with Sohag, just because a naos of this god now resides in the church¹⁶. The blocks of Iuput and the statue of Neshor (1, 3) apparently came from Abydos, the colossal altar of Mehyt (2) most likely originated in Nag' el-Mesheyekh¹⁷, while the Greek statue base (5) may derive from Ptolemais (el-Mensha), and thus there is no reason why the naos of Hakoris must be original to the site. Furthermore, a previously unpublished text from Atripe explicitly states that the temple (*pr*) of Horus-*imy-šnw.t* was south-east of Atripe and,

The Excavation in the Monastery of Apa Shenute (Dayr Anba Shinuda) at Suhag, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 58 (2004), Fig. 10. Weill's copy of the inscription is slightly inaccurate, as is clear from the photograph of G. LEFEBVRE, *DACL* IV 1, col. 469, Fig. 3647. H. KEES, *ZÄS* 64 (1931), p. 108, already corrected the text on the left side; the right side should read: «Horus-*imy-šnw.t*, great god within the House of Life, lord of flame, great of burning, Lord of <N>šw (*ntr* '3 *hry-ib pr-'nh*, *nb nsr.t*, '3 *rkḥ*, *nb* <N>šw)»; for the role of Horus-*imy-šnw.t* in the «House of Life (*pr-'nh*)», see B. VAN DE WALLE, *Une base de statue-guérisseuse avec une nouvelle mention de la déesse-scorpion Ta-Bithet*, *JNES* 31 (1972), p. 79, n. 18; F. VON KÄNEL, *Les prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet et les conjurateurs de Serket* (BEHE, *Section des sciences religieuses*, vol. 87), Paris 1984, p. 302; the epithets *ntr*-'3 *hry-ib pr-'nh* also apply to Horus-*imy-šnw.t* on BM 20775, ll. 3-4 (G. VITTMANN, *Ein Amulett aus der Spätzeit zum Schutz gegen Feinde*, *ZÄS* 111 [1984], p. 165 and 168, n. f; cited by LGG V, p. 328).

¹⁵ G. WAGNER – V. RONDOT, *Une dédicace au roi Ptolémée de la part d'un Alexandrin*, *ZPE* 103 (1994), p. 250-252; *SEG* 44, 1507; J. BINGEN, *Revue des Études Grecques* 108 (1995), p. 551, No. 661; L. CRISCUOLO, *A Textual Survey of Greek Inscriptions from Panopolis and the Panopolite*, in: A. EGBERTS – B.P. MUHS – J. VAN DER VLIET (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis: an Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest* (P.L. Bat. 31), Leiden 2002, p. 57, n. 15; the same object was republished by J. MOJE, *Zu einigen griechischen Inschriften aus Ägypten*, 1: *Dedikation auf einer Statuenbasis im Weißen Kloster bei Sohag (Mittelägypten)*, *ZPE* 164 (2008), p. 145-146, without reference to the previous discussions.

¹⁶ Hypothesis suggested by H. KEES, *ZÄS* 64 (1931), p. 108; followed by PM V, p. 31; A.H. GARDINER, *AEO* II, p. 46*; S. SAUNERON, *BIFAO* 69 (1970), p. 54-58; B. VAN DE WALLE, *JNES* 31 (1972), p. 79; H. TE VELDE, *LÄ* III, col. 47; B. VERBEECK, *LÄ* V, col. 1052; G. VITTMANN, *ZÄS* 111 (1984), p. 168, n. e; G. WAGNER – V. RONDOT, *ZPE* 103 (1994), p. 250.

¹⁷ Already noted by A.H. GARDINER, *AEO* II, p. 276*.

by extension, the site of the White Monastery¹⁸. As Kees already suggested, the toponym *Nššw* can easily be identified with Ptolemais (modern el-Mensha), which appears in Hieroglyphs as *pr-sw*, Demotic as *p-šj* and Coptic as *ΨΩΙϢ*, and which actually featured a prominent crocodile cult¹⁹. Nonetheless, the inhabitants of the region were probably acquainted with Horus-*imy-šnw.t*²⁰, as they must have been with other local deities like Repty of Atripe and Min from Akhmim²¹.

Besides the scattered monuments, the vast majority of Pharaonic *spolia* are used in the construction of the White Monastery church. Although the building primarily consists of small, roughly cut blocks of locally quarried limestone, other massive granite or limestone blocks appear in architecturally important locations, including door jambs, lintels, windows and roofing slabs²². The restriction of the Pharaonic blocks to these important

¹⁸ Chr. LEITZ – D. MENDEL – Y. EL-MASRY, *Athribis II: Der Tempel Ptolemaios XII*, Cairo 2010, p. xxxvii, n. 110; this is probably the same inscription mentioned by G. DARESSY, *Notes et remarques*, RT 19 (1897), p. 21, CXLV.

¹⁹ H. KEES, ZÄS 64 (1931), p. 108-109; cf. further R.S. BAGNALL, *Cults and Names of Ptolemais in Upper Egypt*, in W. CLARYSSE – A. SCHOORS – H. WILLEMS (eds.), *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years* (Fs. Quaegebeur), II (OLA 85), Leuven 1995, p. 1098-1099; this localization agrees with Egyptian geographic lists which place Horus-*imy-šnw.t* and his cult someplace between Thinis and Akhmim (see H. KEES, ZÄS 64 [1931], p. 108-109; A.H. GARDINER, AEO II, p. 41*-46*; *The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu VII*, Pl. 549A; N. DE GARIS DAVIES, *Hibis III*, Pl. 4, Reg. IV, middle; cf. also Stela Leiden V 20 which belongs to a priest of Horus-*imy-šnw.t* but mentions the primary gods of both Akhmim and Atripe: H. DE MEULENAERE, *Trois monuments de Basse Epoque*, OMRO 44 [1963], p. 3-5).

²⁰ Since Kronos was the standard Greek equivalent of Sobek (or Sobek-Geb) in the Graeco-Roman Period, and crocodiles were seen to represent time in general (conflation of Kronos and Chronos; see L. KÁKOSY, *Das Krokodil als Symbol der Ewigkeit und der Zeit*, MDAIK 20 [1965], p. 116-120), it is possible that the local god Kronos against whom Shenoute frequently railed was none other than the saurian Horus-*imy-šnw.t* from Ptolemais; see the recent discussion of S.H. AUFRÈRE, *Kronos, un crocodile justicier des marécages de la rive occidentale du Panopolite au temps de Chenouté?*, in: Id. (ed.), *Encyclopédie religieuse de l'univers végétal (OrMonsp 15)*, Montpellier 2005, III, p. 77-93.

²¹ For Shenoute and Min, see S.L. EMMEL, *Ithyphallic Gods and Undetected Ligatures: Pan is not 'Ours', He is Min (Rectification of a Misreading in a Work of Shenute)*, GM 141 (1994), p. 43-46; note also that a large limestone block containing a Roman Period relief of an ithyphallic Min and the child deity Kolanthes is among the loose blocks at the White Monastery; for Shenoute and Reptyt, see *infra*.

²² For the architectural use of these blocks, cf. already S. CLARKE, *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, p. 148-149; F.W. DEICHMANN, *Die Spolien in der spätantiken Architektur*, p. 56-60; Id., MDAIK 8 (1939), p. 36; U. MONNERET DU VILLARD, *Les couvents près de Sohag II*, p. 123-124; P. GROSSMANN, *Christliche Architektur*, p. 171-172.

positions suggests they were employed primarily for the sake of expediency, obviating difficult expeditions to quarry new blocks from Aswan, rather than for ideological or aesthetic motives²³.

The reused Pharaonic blocks fall into several major groups. The most substantial set consists of almost thirty large pink-granite blocks with extremely fine reliefs and inscriptions (see Fig. 1)²⁴. These granite pieces can be attributed securely to the reign of Amasis (Dynasty Twenty-Six), whose cartouches appear on many objects, sometimes partially effaced²⁵. Two parallel door jambs on the north portal claim that Amasis is «beloved of Sokar,» while other blocks feature forms of Osiris and scenes from a Sed-Festival. The excellent quality of the reliefs, the gods depicted in the scenes, the proximity of the site to Abydos, and the generally scanty building record of Amasis in Upper Egypt all suggest that these blocks derive from the Osiris temple at Kom el-Sultan in Abydos, otherwise known only from an offering table, foundation blocks and the detailed testimony of the important official Peftuaneith preserved on statue Louvre

²³ For the various motives and possible interpretations of using *spolia* in Late Antiquity, see in general F.W. DEICHMANN, *Die Spolien in der spätantiken Architektur*; and more recently B. BRENN, *Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne: Aesthetics versus Ideology*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987), p. 103-109; J. ALCHERMES, *Spolia in Roman Cities of the Late Empire: Legislative Rationales and Architectural Reuse*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 48 (1994), p. 167-178; B. WARD-PERKINS, *Re-Using the Architectural Legacy of the Past, entre idéologie et pragmatisme*, in: G.P. BROGIOLO – B. WARD-PERKINS (eds.), *The Idea and Ideal of the Town Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden 1999, p. 225-244; M. FABRICIUS HANSEN, *The Eloquence of Appropriation: Prolegomena to an Understanding of Spolia in Early Christian Rome* (*Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, Suppl. 33), Rome 2003; P. GROSSMANN, *Modalitäten der Zerstörung und Christianisierung pharaonischen Tempelanlagen*, in: J. HAHN – S. EMMEL – U. GOTTER (eds.), *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity* (RGRW 163), Leiden 2008, p. 299-334.

²⁴ Photographs of several blocks from this group have appeared already in W.G. DE BOK, *Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie de l'Égypte chrétienne*, p. 48, Fig. 59; G. LEFEBVRE, *DACL* IV 1, col. 476, Fig. 2652; U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Les couvents près de Sohag* II, Pls. 145-147; F.W. DEICHMANN, *Die Spolien in der spätantiken Architektur*, Abb. 24.

²⁵ Blocks belonging to Amasis were previously reported by R. WEILL, *RT* 36 (1914), p. 97-98 (followed by PM V, p. 31); G. LEFEBVRE, *DACL* IV 1, col. 470; P. VERNUS, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), p. 67 and Pl. VI; B. VERBEECK, *LÄ* V, col. 1052; Y. EL-MASRY, *MDAIK* 57 (2001), p. 209, n. 27. The author has not found any cartouches of Psammetichus I or Apries, as recorded by W.M.F. PETRIE, *Athribis*, p. 11 and 14; G. LEFEBVRE, *DACL* IV 1, col. 470 and Y. EL-MASRY, *MDAIK* 57 (2001), p. 209. These earlier reports may have simply misinterpreted the traces on the partially effaced cartouches, especially since the prenomen of all these kings were quite similar (already acknowledged by G. LEFEBVRE, *DACL* IV 1, col. 470).

A 93²⁶. The carefully mutilated cartouches of Amasis may indicate that the Osiris temple of Abydos was dismantled during the Persian Period²⁷, only to be rebuilt in a new location by Nectanebo I and II in the Thirtieth Dynasty²⁸. The Late Period history of Abydos is further confirmed by the testimony of a general of the Thirtieth Dynasty preserved on a statue in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 1996.91)²⁹. This fascinating inscription mentions restoration work carried out at temples in the Busirite Nome of Lower Egypt (Busiris, Lycopolis), as well as benefactions performed for Osiris and Sokar in Abydos to repair «the damage which the foreigners (viz. Persians) had inflicted (*3h ir.n h3sty.w*)»³⁰.

Another important group consists of at least eight large limestone roofing slabs used in the north-east staircase of the church connecting the sanctuary to the roof (Fig. 2). Several of these blocks, which still preserve their original paint, contain scenes appropriate to a temple ceiling; stars,

²⁶ PM V, p. 43; B. KEMP, *The Osiris Temple at Abydos*, MDAIK 23 (1968), p. 146-147. For the statue Louvre A 93, see most recently S. GRALLERT, *Bauen – Stiften – Weißen: Ägyptische Bau- und Restaurierunginschriften von den Anfängen bis zur 30. Dynastie* (ADAIK 18), Berlin 2001, p. 473-474; J. HEISE, *Erinnern und Gedenken: Aspekte der biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit* (OBO 226), Fribourg-Göttingen 2007, p. 229-233 (with extensive bibliography). O. PERDU, *RdE* 43 (1992), p. 146, n. 6, already suggested an Abydene origin for the blocks of Amasis.

²⁷ For the *damnatio memoriae* of Amasis's monuments, see already H. DE MEULENAERE, art. *Amasis*, in: *LÄ* I, col. 182; R.B. GOZZOLI, *JEA* 86 (2000), p. 79-80, n. 73; a detailed study on these erasures by A.J. Leahy is now in press (personal communication, 2008).

²⁸ For the Thirtieth Dynasty temple of Osiris, south-east of Kom el-Sultan, see most recently M. MARLAR, *Excavations of the Temple of Osiris at Abydos Reported on behalf of the University of Pennsylvania Museum — Yale University — Institute of Fine Arts, New York University Expedition to Abydos*, in: J.-C. GOYON – Chr. CARDIN (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, II (OLA 150), Leuven 2007, p. 1251-1259; *Id.*, *The Osiris Temple at Abydos: an Archaeological Investigation of the Architecture and Decorative Elements of Two Temple Phases* (Ph.D. Diss., New York University, 2009; UMI #3380220); D. O'CONNOR, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris*, Cairo 2009, p. 128-129.

²⁹ PM VIII, 801-727-310; P.-M. CHEVEREAU, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens de la Basse Époque. Carrières militaires et carrières sacerdotales en Égypte du XI^e au II^e siècle avant J.C.*, Paris 1985, p. 164, Doc. 237; M. HILL – J.P. ALLEN, *MMA Bulletin* 54/2 (1996), p. 8-9; Do. ARNOLD, *Apollo* (October 1997), p. 15; D. KLOTZ, *Two Studies on Abydos in the Late Period* (in preparation).

³⁰ For *h3sty.w* denoting Persians in contemporaneous inscriptions, see especially G. LEFEBVRE, *Le tombeau de Petosiris II*, p. 32 (No. 59, 3); cf. also the discussions of E.J. SHERMAN, *Djedhor the Saviour Statue Base OI 10589*, *JEA* 67 (1981), p. 95, n. u; Chr. THIERS, *Civils et militaires dans les temples: Occupation illicite et expulsion*, BIFAO 95 (1995), p. 499, n. a. In particular, note that the present phrase finds a close parallel in the Mendes Stela, line 9, where Ptolemy II speaks of renovations to the local temple aimed at «removing the damage which the evil foreigners had inflicted (*rwi 3h ir.n h3sty.w bdš.w*)» (*Urk.* II 38.7-8).

cobras and vultures, and solar or astronomical inscriptions. The quality of the stone and style of carving are distinctly worse than those of the Saite Period granite blocks, and the orthographies generally suggest a date in the Graeco-Roman Period.

Among the second group is a block of considerable historical importance. Located above the second flight of stairs in the north-east staircase, right next to the entrance to the modern day chapel of St. Cyril VI, this block contains eight rows of stars, and two columns of hieroglyphic inscriptions (Fig. 3). Although the right column is considerably damaged, the left column is quite legible (Fig. 4).

[...] s'ḥ'.n=f p.t 'pr.tw m ḥ3bs.w^(a)
 m gs-ḥry^(b) t3 n mw.t=f
 'Ir.t-Ḥr Rpy.t ḥr 'Imnt(.t)^(c) [...]

[...] he erected a sky (viz. ceiling) outfitted with stars,
 above the earth for his mother,
 the Eye of Horus, Reptyt in the West [...]

Notes

(a) A nearly identical phrase is used to describe the astronomical decoration in the temples of Dendera and Edfu: «all their ceilings are outfitted with stars (*ḥ3y.ty=sn nb 'pr.tw m ḥ3bs.w*)» (S. Cauville, *Les inscriptions dédicatoires du temple d'Hathor à Dendera*, BIFAO 90 [1990], p. 106 and 109, n. (26) = *Dendara* XV 215.15; *Edfou* VII 12.3). In offering scenes, the golden *bb*-collar is said to be covered with precious stones, «just like the sky outfitted with stars (*mī p.t 'pr.tw m sb3.w*)» (*Dendara* III 143.1; XI 42.12); cf. also *Dendara* VII 210.10 and 4; *Wb.* I, 180, 9-10.

(b) For the phrase *m gs-ḥry*, «in the upper half; above», cf. P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: a Lexicographical Study of the Ptolemaic Texts in the Temple of Edfu* (OLA 78), Leuven 1997, p. 1109-1110; A. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning: A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-chests and Driving the Calves*, I (*EgUit* 8), Leiden 1995, p. 382, n. h; Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld* I, p. 397, n. b.

(c) «Eye of Horus in the West (*'Ir.t-Ḥr ḥr 'Imnt.t*)» is the standard epithet of Reptyt in Atripe; see Leitz, ed., *LGG* I, 434; IV, 662-3; V, 437 (with variants); for the preposition *ḥr*, «in (a land)», see *Wb.* III, 131, 27-29; Edel, *ZÄS* 100 (1973), p. 76.

This excerpt of a building inscription asserts that a certain king, whose name is now missing, erected the roof of a chapel or temple of the goddess Reptyt/Triphis, complete with decorative stars. In other words, this ceiling block, as well as similar pieces from the same staircase (totaling at least 5.7 m² in surface area), originally came from the ceiling of a

Repyt sanctuary, most likely the temple of Atripe³¹. While scholars have previously conjectured that assumed this was the case, the present block is the first one definitely known to come from Atripe. Although the White Monastery church has been renovated a number of times in its history, the fact that the ceiling blocks are now in an inner section of the church (the ceiling of a staircase) strongly suggests they have been there since its creation³². In addition to these ceiling slabs, several other limestone blocks of Graeco-Roman Period date are also present in the White Monastery. One large block contains a relief of Min and a child deity, probably Kolanthes (Fig. 5); however, although similar reliefs appear at Atripe³³, the relief could have easily come from Akhmim or elsewhere³⁴. Two other fragments (one in the roof, the other on the ground) feature painted reliefs of Bes-heads and *kheker*-frieze similar to architrave decoration on other Egyptian mammisis (Fig. 6)³⁵. Since mammisi-related themes are prominent in the surviving decoration of the Repyt temple³⁶, it is quite likely that these blocks originally belonged to the architrave of the temple at Atripe.

The presence of these blocks within the White Monastery may relate to Shenoute's famous conflicts with pagans (or crypto-pagans)³⁷. In a

³¹ Although Repyt was also worshipped in the temples of her consort, Min of Akhmim, and her son, Kolanthes of Ptolemais (cf. R. EL-SAYED, *Zur Erforschung des oberägyptischen Athribis: Erste Ergebnisse aus der Projektarbeit in den Jahren 2003 bis 2006*, *Sokar* 13 [2006], p. 77, n. 1), there is no evidence for other temples dedicated specifically to Repyt outside of Atripe.

³² The testimony of J. WANSLEBEN, *The Present State of Egypt*, 1678, p. 225 (quoted above, p. 197), shows that at the very least, inscribed ceiling blocks were present in the staircases as early as the seventeenth century, prior to the major renovations of the last two centuries.

³³ For the depiction of Kolanthes, compare W.M.F. PETRIE, *Athribis*, Pl. XXVII.

³⁴ Note that Shenoute boasted of confiscating an image (*eidolon*) of Min-Pan from a private house and bringing it back to the Monastery; S.L. EMMEL, *GM* 141 (1994), p. 43-46.

³⁵ E.g. F. DAUMAS, *Les mammisis de Dendara*, Cairo 1959, p. 287 and Pl. XCV.

³⁶ Y. EL-MASRY – R. EL-SAYED – J. KOSCIUK – H. LEISEN – E. VON PLEHWE-LEISEN – Chr. LEITZ, *Preliminary Report on the Third Season of Fieldwork of the University of Tübingen and SCA Joint Mission to Athribis (Nag' al-Shaykh Hamad — Sohag)*, in: *The World of Ancient Egypt. Essays in Honor of Ahmed Abd el-Qader el-Sawi* (ASAEi, Supp. 35), Cairo 2006, p. 64 and 74, Fig. 12; Chr. LEITZ, *Le temple d'Athribis en Haute Égypte*, *AnnEPHE, Sciences religieuses* 115 (2006-2007), p. 86-88; note also a similar ceiling block from Athribis with the same *s'h.n=f* formula as on the Sohag block (*ibid.* p. 89).

³⁷ For this controversial topic, see H. BEHLMER, *Shenute von Atripe: De Iudicio (Torino, Museo Egizio, cat. 63000, cod. iv) (CMT 8)*, Turin 1996, p. LX-LXVI; S. EMMEL, *From the Other Side of the Nile: Shenute and Panopolis*, in: A. EGBERTS *et al.* (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis*, p. 95-113; *Id.*, *Shenoute of Atripe and the Christian Destruction of Temples in Egypt: Rhetoric and Reality*, in J. HAHN, S. EMMEL, U. GOTTER (eds.), *From Temple to Church*, p. 161-201.

passage from the sermon *De iudicio*, Shenoute mentions the following encounter with an obstinate pagan³⁸:

He whom I found in the temple of Atripe, praising Satan and consecrating offerings to him (ΟΥΩΤῆ ΝΑϞ ΕΒΟΛ)³⁹, he scattered flowers, persea-branches, bunches of grape leaves and other plants, and then he lit a fire in that place, (even though) we had already burnt down that place of idols (ΕΑΝΡΩΚΞ ΜΠΜΑ ΝΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ) along with everything within it.

Whatever gods this man was worshipping, the important point is that Shenoute mentions the destruction of some part of the temple as a generally accepted background to his story. Similarly, in the discourse *Let Our Eyes*, Shenoute recounts how he and a gang of monks entered the house of a crypto-pagan and found idols «whom he [viz. the crypto-pagan] worships, by lighting a lot of lamps for them, and offering up incense to them on the altars, with what they call *kyphi*, and breaking bread before them.»⁴⁰ In order to demonstrate his expertise on pagan idols, Shenoute mentions that he previously saw such things when he entered and destroyed an actual temple⁴¹.

For many good reasons, scholars have recently questioned the historiographic value of details mentioned in early Christian sermons and testimonies⁴². In particular, Rafed el-Sayed has expressed doubts about Shenoute and the destruction of pagan temples, suggesting that the temple of Atripe was already abandoned by the reign of Diocletian (c. 298 CE)⁴³. However, the only evidence cited in support of this theory is a short communication from *P. Panopolis Beatty I*, 259-260⁴⁴:

³⁸ H. BEHLMER, *Schenute von Atripe: De Iudicio*, p. 91-92, 247; cf. also S. EMMEL, in: J. HAHN, S. EMMEL, U. GOTTER (eds.), *From Temple to Church*, p. 163-164.

³⁹ H. BEHLMER, *Schenute von Atripe: De Iudicio*, p. 247, translated «ihm ein Trankopfer darbrachte.» However, for the various meanings of *wdn* (> ΟΥΩΤῆ), see S. SCHOTT, *Eine ägyptische Bezeichnung für Litaneien*, in O. FIRCHOW (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien*, Berlin 1955, p. 289-295.

⁴⁰ Translation of S. Emmel, in: J. HAHN, S. EMMEL, U. GOTTER (eds.), *From Temple to Church*, p. 169-170, 185 (21), 193 (21).

⁴¹ S. EMMEL, in: J. HAHN, S. EMMEL, U. GOTTER (eds.), *From Temple to Church*, p. 178.

⁴² See the pertinent remarks of R.S. BAGNALL, *Models of Evidence in the Study of Religion in Late Roman Egypt*, in: J. HAHN, S. EMMEL, U. GOTTER (eds.), *From Temple to Church*, p. 25-9.

⁴³ R. EL-SAYED, *Sokar* 13 (2006), p. 75; Id., *Athribis Report 2008*, in: *Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists, Abstracts*, Rhodes 2008, p. 79; Id., *The Temple of Min and Repit at Athribis*, *Egyptian Archaeology* 31 (2008), p. 21; see also P. GROSSMANN, in: J. HAHN, S. EMMEL, U. GOTTER (eds.), *From Temple to Church*, p. 323.

⁴⁴ T.C. SKEAT, *Papyri from Panopolis in the Chester Beatty Library Dublin* (Chester Beatty Monographs, No. 10), Dublin 1964, p. 34-35, 122-123.

To Didymus also called Harpocraton, son of Didymus, superintendent of bedding of the [T]ripheion. The most excellent senate, in its communication to me through Plutogenes, President in office, has notified me that you have been selected for the superintendence of bedding of the palace in the Tripheion for the auspiciously impending visit of our ruler the Emperor Diocletian, the Senior Augustus. In order therefore that you may know and at once undertake the duties entrusted to you, I send this communication to you by the hand of Leon my servant. Year 15/14/7, Thoth 20th. Signed.

Since Diocletian was to stay in a *palation* at the Tripheion (Atripe), scholars have argued that the temple was no longer functioning, since the imperial visit would have presumably required a massive transformation of the building⁴⁵. However, the term *palation* did not necessarily imply «eine römische Palastanlage mit zugehörigem Fort»⁴⁶, but merely denoted the temporary headquarters of an Emperor traveling outside of Rome⁴⁷. Furthermore, there is no reason to assume that an Emperor could not have held audience in an active Egyptian temple; in fact the presence of the ruler most likely honored the local sanctuary.⁴⁸ Even if the temple had fallen into disuse by the end of the third century, the building itself must have been in good condition to serve as a *palation* for Diocletian and his entourage, and thus there is no reason to assume the temple had already collapsed by the time Shenoute arrived.

The *spolia* at the White Monastery prove at the very least that some of the building material came from the temple of Atripe. The architectural and textual sources suggest that the builder of the church Shenoute ordered the transfer of the ceiling stones during or after Shenoute's purported «destruction» of the pagan temple. This does not mean that

⁴⁵ E.g. R.S. BAGNALL, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton 1993, p. 265.

⁴⁶ R. EL-SAYED, in: *Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists, Abstracts*, Rhodes 2008, p. 79. Evidence for a late Roman fortress has not yet been presented. Note, however, that if the Repyt temple actually had been converted into a fortress by the reign of Diocletian, Shenoute and his audience must have been aware of its new function, and thus his allusion to «the temple of Atripe (ΠΕΡΙΤΕ ΝΑΤΡΙΠΕ)» would have been completely meaningless.

⁴⁷ See primarily F. MILLAR, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, London 1977, p. 20, 41-42 (discussing this example on p. 42); H. HALFMANN, *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich* (Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien 2), Stuttgart 1986, p. 88-89.

⁴⁸ Caracalla had previously stayed in the Serapeum during his infamous trip to Alexandria (Cassius Dio LXXVII 23.3; mentioned by H. HALFMANN, *Itinera principum*, p. 89).

Shenoute faced an army of zealous pagan priests, and the destruction may have been largely symbolic. In any event, his claim to have «burnt down» the temple is certainly an exaggeration. The Atripe blocks derive almost exclusively from the ceiling of the Repyt temple, and the builders probably removed them specifically for reuse in the White Monastery staircase.

Archaeological remains and multiple textual sources — including the testimony of Christians, pagans, and Imperial legislation aimed at protecting the monuments — demonstrate that temples were destroyed and looted throughout the entire Roman Empire in this period of Late Antiquity⁴⁹. Viewed in its general historical context, the use of pagan *spolia* in the White Monastery church is neither surprising nor unfeasible.

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POSTSCRIPT

A recent discussion of this topic was announced in 2010, but not in time to be consulted for the present article: R. EL-SAYED, *Schenute und die Tempel von Atripe. Zur Umnutzung des Triphisbezirks in der Spätantike*, in: H. KNUF, Chr. LEITZ, D. VON RECKLINGHAUSEN (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense. Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen (OLA 194)*, Leuven 2010, p. 519-538.

⁴⁹ See especially J. HAHN, S. EMMEL, U. GOTTER (eds.), *From Temple to Church*.



Fig. 1 – Granite Relief of Amasis, reused in the Church of
St. Shenoute (west staircase)
Photo: D. Klotz.



Fig. 2 – Ceiling Block from Atriipe, reused in the Church of
St. Shenoute (east staircase)
Photo: D. Klotz.

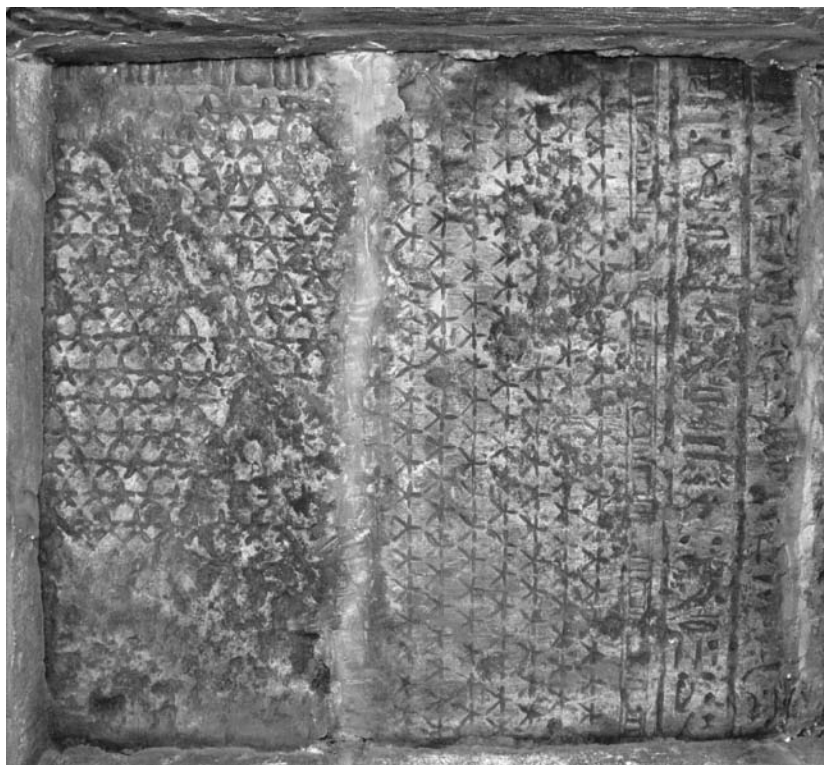


Fig. 3 – Two Ceiling Blocks from Atripe, reused in the Church of
St. Shenoute (east staircase)

Photo: D. Klotz.



Fig. 4 – Building Inscription from Atripe, reused in the Church of
St. Shenoute (east staircase)
Copy: D. Klotz.

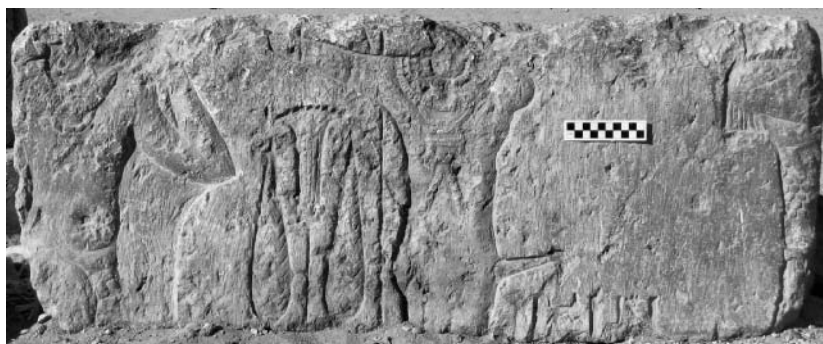


Fig. 5 – Relief with Min and child god, outside the Church of St. Shenoute.

Photo: D. Klotz.

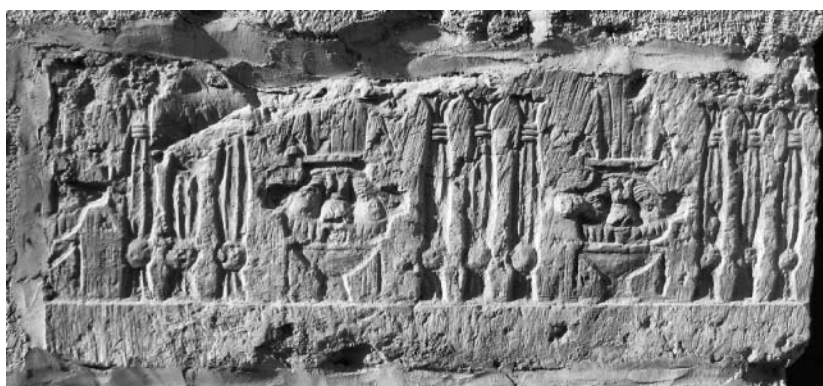


Fig. 6 – Relief with Bes-heads and *kheker*-frieze, reused in the Church of St. Shenoute (roof)

Photo: D. Klotz.

CRISI DELLA LEGA PELOPONNESIACA E AUTONOMIA
DELLE *POLEIS* IN SENOFONTE:
IL CASO DI FLIUNTE E CORINTO

Abstract: Special attention is paid in Xenophon's *Hellenica* to the little *polis* of Phleious, a fact explained by the existence of personal ties and interests between that author and the city. Several sections of Phleiasian history in the *Hellenica* are put by Xenophon in key points of his historical work; because of this, analysis made by modern scholars about these fragments of Φλεισιακά has been commonly influenced by the idea that their main interest concerned their usefulness, as moments of paradigmatic history, in the investigation of Spartan politics or Sparta-Athens relations, or the general historiographical view of their author, without giving attention to the real Phleious and her historical dimension. A perspective centred on an internal point of view about Phleiasian history of the 4th century BC could, indeed, shed new light on some matters discussed by modern scholars about the chief political questions of this period. Through the case-study of Phleious and her neighbour Corinth, the present paper intends to investigate the relationship between Sparta, Athens and their allies, and the position of these μικραὶ πόλεις as the old, classical hegemonic system comes to final collapse.

1. SENOFONTE E FLIUNTE

Senofonte riserva, nelle *Elleniche*, uno spazio non trascurabile alle vicende riguardanti la città di Fliunte, fornendo, a partire dal quarto libro, una quantità non irrilevante di notizie sulla storia della piccola *polis* peloponnesiaca circa il periodo compreso tra lo scoppio della guerra di Corinto (395 a.C.) e gli anni immediatamente precedenti la battaglia di Mantinea (362/61 a.C.). In parte ciò fu dovuto alla tendenza al policentrismo che caratterizzò la storia greca in questa età, soprattutto nel Peloponneso, giustamente rilevata e messa in evidenza da Senofonte con *excursus* su diverse *poleis* (Mantinea, Tegea, Sicione). In parte, tuttavia, si deve attribuire questa speciale attenzione dello storico alle vicissitudini di Fliunte ad alcuni particolari interessi personali che lo legavano alla città.

Alcuni membri dell'importante scuola pitagorica di Fliunte frequentavano il circolo socratico e, infatti, il *Fedone* è ambientato proprio in questa città. Com'è noto, anche Senofonte fece parte del circolo socratico e a lui si devono alcuni dialoghi socratici, simili ai più famosi scritti

da Platone¹. A questo genere di legami tra lo storico e Fliunte bisogna affiancare quelli di natura politica, derivanti dalla frequentazione dell'ambiente spartano e, in particolare, dalla frequentazione del circolo del re Agesilao, di cui Senofonte fu amico e ammiratore. Come Senofonte informa, alcuni importanti esponenti della classe politica fliasia intrattenevano con Agesilao e la sua famiglia legami di ospitalità: il padre di Agesilao, Archidamo, aveva stretto legami di ξενία con il fliasio Podanemo² e il gruppo di uomini che componeva la sua fazione, e così aveva fatto Agesilao con Procle, figlio di Ipponico, e il suo gruppo³. Con ogni probabilità, si tratta di gruppi di aristocratici filo-spartani. In soccorso di alcuni di questi uomini e delle loro fazioni politiche, mandate in esilio dalla città tra gli anni '90 del IV secolo a.C. e il 379 a.C., Agesilao condusse una spedizione contro Fliunte⁴, un'azione motivata, dallo stesso Senofonte, con la φιλεταιρία del re nei confronti degli esiliati⁵. Particolarmente evidente è il legame tra Agesilao, Senofonte e Procle; a lui, infatti, Senofonte fa pronunciare due importanti discorsi davanti all'ἐκκλησία ateniese, come membro della delegazione spartana venuta a trattare la pace e l'alleanza con Atene, stipulate nel 369/368 a.C.⁶. Si tratta dei due discorsi diretti più lunghi inseriti da Senofonte nelle *Elleniche* (10 paragrafi e più ciascuno)⁷.

2. ΦΛΕΙΑΣΙΑΚΑ DI SENOFONTE

I segmenti di «storia fliasia» più corposi e interessanti, presenti nelle *Elleniche*, sono: (1) il racconto dei contrasti, sorti negli anni successivi

¹ Pl., *Phd.* 57a-b; Xen., *Smp.* IV 63; D.L. III 46; IV 2; VIII 46; Iamb., *VP* 251, 267; Suid. s.v. Σωκράτης. Senofonte fa anche un accenno, in *An.* VII 8.1-2, ad un indovino fliasio, Euclide, figlio del pittore Cleagora che aveva dipinto nel Liceo una serie di *Sogni*, che egli incontra a Lampsaco durante la parte finale della sua marcia verso l'esercito di Tibrone. È evidente, dal racconto senofonteo, che i due si conoscevano già in patria, prima del loro incontro in Asia Minore.

² L'unica altra attestazione del nome Podanemo proviene da Sparta, per lo stesso periodo: Xen., *HG* IV 8.10.

³ Xen., *HG* V 3.13.

⁴ Xen., *HG* IV 4.15; V 3.10-17.

⁵ Xen., *Ages.* II 21.

⁶ Xen., *HG* VI 5.38-48; VII 1.1-12.

⁷ Cfr. G. DAVERIO ROCCHI, *La città di Fliunte nelle Elleniche. Caso politico e modello letterario*, in *Il Peloponneso di Senofonte*, a cura di G. Daverio Rocchi e M. Cavalli, Milano 2004, p. 47, 50, 53. Cfr. anche Senofonte, *Elleniche*. Introduzione, traduzione e note di G. Daverio Rocchi, Milano 2002, p. 60. Queste amicizie e legami politici furono la probabile fonte di cui lo storico si avvalse per ottenere le informazioni sulle vicende della città: É. DELEBECQUE, *Essai sur la vie de Xénophon*, Paris 1957, p. 272.

alla pace di Antalcida tra il re spartano Agesilao e la città, a causa dell'intervento del re a favore del gruppo di esiliati⁸ e collegati, con grande probabilità, ad un cambio di linea politica avvenuto a Fliunte negli anni della guerra di Corinto, culminati con l'assedio e la presa della città da parte dell'esercito spartano⁹; (2) i due discorsi pronunciati davanti all'ἐκκλησία ateniese da Procle; (3) un lungo *excursus*, nel VII libro, che narra le vicissitudini e le difficoltà che la *polis* dovette affrontare negli anni successivi alla battaglia di Leuttra, quando, rimasta una delle poche alleate fedeli a Sparta, fu oggetto di ripetuti attacchi da parte degli stati vicini (Argo, gli Arcadi, Sicione), alleati di Epaminonda¹⁰. A queste sezioni si deve aggiungere, tra le altre notizie, la sequenza di episodi concernenti il comportamento della città nei confronti di Sparta durante la guerra di Corinto, quando essa, adducendo come giustificazione il rispetto di una tregua sacra, non inviò il proprio contingente alla battaglia svoltasi presso il torrente Nemea, nel 395 a.C., e non accolse l'esercito spartano entro le proprie mura fino al 391/390 a.C.¹¹. — una novità nelle scelte adottate dalla *polis* rispetto alla linea politica sempre aderente alle posizioni spartane mantenuta nel corso del precedente conflitto peloponnesiaco —, ma poi, impaurita dall'attacco condotto da Ificrate nel suo territorio, richiese l'intervento degli Spartani, accogliendo una guarnigione all'interno della città, seppure a malincuore: si temeva, infatti, che essi ne approfittassero per far richiamare un gruppo di esuli, che affermavano di essere stati mandati in esilio ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ. Nel seguito del suo racconto, Senofonte informa che Podanemo e la sua fazione erano tra questi esiliati, mentre ciò non è chiaro per Procle¹². Questo non avvenne e, tornata tranquilla la situazione, gli Spartani lasciarono Fliunte che, per il prosieguo della guerra, si mostrò collaborativa verso le necessità militari di Sparta¹³.

Queste sezioni di Φλειασιακά hanno offerto e offrono ancora numerosi spunti d'analisi sia a coloro che si dedicano all'indagine della storia politica del IV secolo sia agli studiosi di Senofonte e della sua opera, a causa dei legami personali che sussistevano tra lo storico e alcuni dei principali personaggi della vita pubblica e culturale di Fliunte e perché, secondo le stesse parole di Senofonte, le vicende di questa *polis*, a partire dagli eventi subito successivi alla sconfitta spartana a Leuttra, sono

⁸ Xen., *HG* V 2.8-10.

⁹ Xen., *HG* V 2.8-10; 3.10-17, 21-25.

¹⁰ Xen., *HG* VII 2.1-23-3.1.

¹¹ Xen., *HG* IV 2.16; 4.15.

¹² Xen., *HG* V 3.13.

¹³ Xen., *HG* IV 4.15; 7.3; 7.7.

assunte, nelle *Elleniche*, a emblema della dimensione storica e morale delle μικραὶ πόλεις¹⁴ in quel frangente.

L'intervento di Agesilao negli affari della città si colloca negli anni tra il 385 e il 379 a.C., quando gli Spartani si occupavano di punire gli alleati dimostratisi recalcitranti nel conflitto corinzio¹⁵; gli esuli di Fliunte approfittarono del momento per recarsi a Sparta e sottoporre il loro caso e, facendo presente che la condotta di Fliunte nei confronti di Sparta era mutata a seguito del loro esilio, la indussero a intervenire in loro favore, perché fossero riammessi in città e alla proprietà dei loro beni. Inizialmente, per evitare un intervento armato da parte spartana, i Fliasii accettarono le due condizioni; venendo poi meno l'impegno del governo fliasio ad adempiere alla seconda condizione, Agesilao intervenne personalmente, ponendo l'assedio alla città per quasi due anni (20 mesi: 381-379 a.C.), mosso dall'intenzione di intervenire a favore di quelli, tra gli esiliati, che avevano legami personali con la sua famiglia. In questo frangente, Senofonte si sofferma nel raccontare che tra gli Spartani assediati serpeggiava il disaccordo nei confronti del re, poiché molti sostenevano che «a causa di pochi si inimicavano una *polis* di più di cinquemila uomini»; infatti, i Fliasii badavano a mostrare agli assediati il loro numero, tenendo l'assemblea in un luogo visibile all'esterno delle mura. Agesilao ribatté, però, addestrando i fuoriusciti che, progressivamente, durante l'assedio abbandonavano la città andando ad ingrossare le fila degli esuli, secondo il modello di vita spartiate, organizzandoli in sissizi, mantenendoli in esercizio fisico e costituendoli in un corpo di più di mille armati: gli Spartani dovettero convenire che «di tali compagni d'armi avevano bisogno»¹⁶. L'assedio si concluse, nonostante la strenua resistenza, con la resa di Fliunte. Senofonte non manca, però, di elogiare il comportamento della città assediata, la capacità di esercitare la moderazione nel sopportare l'estrema scarsità di cibo e le doti marziali nell'organizzare la ordinata difesa delle mura e le sortite contro l'esercito nemico: è, verosimilmente, il preludio al vero e proprio encomio delle doti morali della città che occuperà il libro VII. Contestualmente, un grande risalto è dato ad Agesilao e ai motivi della sua politica.

¹⁴ Xen., *HG* VI 5.44; VII 2.1.

¹⁵ Xen., *HG* V 2.1.

¹⁶ Xen., *HG* V 3.17.

Per quanto riguarda i discorsi fatti pronunciare a Procle, esiste un generale, articolato dibattito sull'autenticità o sulla natura di pura creazione retorica dei discorsi riportati da Senofonte nelle *Elleniche* e, in questo secondo caso, sulla loro funzione all'interno dell'opera: posti in punti chiave del racconto storico, essi sarebbero — similmente ai discorsi tucididei — spazi in cui l'autore spiega il proprio pensiero e la propria interpretazione del senso degli eventi; oppure potrebbero essere latori di un compito storiografico, rappresentare il dibattito politico che si svolgeva, contestualmente ai fatti militari e alle iniziative diplomatiche, nel momento in cui vengono pronunciati, illustrando il pensiero delle parti in causa; o, ancora, celebrerebbero qualità morali connotanti la personalità degli oratori o avrebbero una varietà di altre funzioni volte a sviluppare il movimento narrativo o a fornire *exempla*, o concorrerebbero a condurre un discorso politico sotteso all'indagine senofontea del corso generale della storia della Grecia nella prima metà del IV secolo, giunta, infine, ad una soglia epocale¹⁷. Nel caso dei discorsi di Procle, si tratta, essenzialmente, di un dibattito sull'egemonia, sia dal punto di vista dei rapporti tra le due potenze egemoni, Sparta e Atene, sia dal punto di vista dei rapporti con le μικραὶ πόλεις, di esse alleate, calato nel quadro storico immediatamente successivo alla battaglia di Leuttra: i due discorsi, ampiamente studiati dai moderni e costruiti con grande perizia retorica, auspicano uno scenario di ricomposizione, in cui Ateniesi e Spartani stringano alleanza per contrastare il nemico comune, e gli uni soccorrano gli altri nell'estremo pericolo (primo discorso), e che questa alleanza si consolidi nella realizzazione di un sistema di egemonia duale, paritaria e complementare, divisa per sfere d'influenza, terra e mare (secondo discorso)¹⁸. Questa seconda proposta viene, però, contrastata

¹⁷ Per un'ampia rassegna cfr. E. LUPPINO-MANES, *Egemonia di terra ed egemonia di mare*, Alessandria 2000, p. 161-186; G. SCHEPENS, *Three Voices on the History of a Difficult Relationship. Xenophon's Evaluation of Athenian and Spartan Identities in Hellenica VI 3*, in *Identità e valori fattori di aggregazione e fattori di crisi nell'esperienza politica antica*, a cura di A. Barzanò – C. Bearzot – F. Landucci – L. Prandi – G. Zecchini, Roma 2001, p. 81-96.

¹⁸ H.R. BREITENBACH, *Historiographische Anschauungsformen Xenophons*, Freiburg in der Schweiz 1950, p. 125-126; ID., *Xenophon von Athen*, Stuttgart 1966, col. 1693-1694; J. DALFEN, *Xenophon als Analytiker und Kritiker Politischer Rede*, GB 5 (1976), p. 71-78; W.E. HIGGINS, *Xenophon the Athenian. The Problem of the Individual and the Society of the Polis*, Albany-New York 1977, p. 121-122; J. BUCKLER, *Xenophon's Speeches and the Theban Hegemony*, *Athenaeum* 60 (1982), p. 193-198; V.J. GRAY, *The Character of Xenophon's Hellenica*, Baltimore 1989, p. 112-121; J.-C. RIEDINGER, *Étude sur les Helléniques. Xénophon et l'histoire*, Paris 1991, p. 199-206; J. WICKERSHAM,

dall'intervento dell'oratore ateniese Cefisodoto, il quale insinua il sospetto che l'egemonia divisa per terra e per mare nasconda uno svantaggio per gli Ateniesi — costretti a comandare, nella flotta comune, gli iloti o i mercenari che comporranno gli equipaggi lacedemoni, mentre gli Spartani comanderanno i cittadini ateniesi nell'esercito terrestre —, e l'assemblea decide per la costituzione di un'egemonia condivisa ma in cui le due *poleis* si alternino al comando a rotazione ogni cinque giorni¹⁹.

Il corposo *excursus* all'interno del libro VII è dedicato alla celebrazione esplicita della serie di πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα compiuti, in quel periodo particolarmente difficile per le *poleis* della Lega Peloponnesiaca rappresentato dagli anni tra il 371 e il 365 a.C., dai Fliasii quando, circondati lungo quasi tutti i loro confini da vicini ostili e ad essi superiori per risorse militari, da questi attaccati a più riprese (Senofonte descrive cinque campagne), privati dell'aiuto di Sparta — anch'essa in gravi difficoltà —, resistettero fedelmente al fianco della *polis* egemone; qui, dunque, essi assurgono a paradigma morale in quanto πιστοὶ τοῖς φίλοις, a Sparta cioè, anche dopo Leuttra e nonostante le difficoltà affrontate contro nemici molto più forti, ἄλκιμοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ εὐς πάντων σπανίζοντες διέμενον ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ²⁰. L'elogio delle doti morali adombra, abbastanza chiaramente, l'*exemplum* del corretto rapporto tra la μικρὰ πόλις e la potenza egemone classica (Sparta), improntato alla fedeltà — conformemente ai modi auspicati dai discorsi di Procle; questo aspetto del pensiero senofonteo, non solo storiografico, ma eminentemente politico, è stato ben analizzato²¹. La *polis* si presenta, poi, come paradigma storico perché nella sua parabola, come in quella delle sue vicine (Corinto ed Epidauro *in primis*, anch'esse oggetto di attacchi da parte della coalizione tebana)²², si trova al meglio rappresen-

Hegemony and Greek Historians, Boston 1994, p. 108-111; Ch. TUPLIN, *The Failings of Empire*, Stuttgart 1993, p. 110-113, 115-116; J. DILLERY, *Xenophon and the History of his Times*, London-New York 1995, p. 247-249; E. LUPPINO-MANES, *Egemonia di terra ed egemonia di mare* (n. 17), p. 163-186; D.P. ORSI, *Giustizia e 'Realpolitik' nelle Elleniche di Senofonte*, *Simblos* 4 (2004), p. 96-98, 101-102.

¹⁹ Xen., *HG* VII 1.12-14.

²⁰ Xen., *HG* VII 3.1. Cfr. J. DILLERY, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 130-138.

²¹ Da ultimo in G. DAVERIO ROCCHI, *Un esempio di piccola città nelle «Elleniche» di Senofonte*, in *Herkos: Studi in onore di Franco Sartori*, Padova 2003, p. 83-91; Id., *La città di Fliunte nelle Elleniche* (n. 7), p. 41-56; Id., *Hégémonie et autonomie. Les petites poleis dans les Helléniques de Xénophon*, *AncSoc* 38 (2008), p. 1-21. Sul significato di questo *excursus* nell'economia dell'opera senofontea cfr., ad es., V.J. GRAY, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 165-170; Ch. TUPLIN, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 39, 145-146; J. DILLERY, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 123-124, 131-138, 147.

²² Xen., *HG* VII 1.25; 4.6; D.S. XV 68.1-2; 69.1-4; Plu. *Tim.* 4.1.

tata la condizione della *polis* nel IV secolo a.C., di fronte alla crisi delle dinamiche e degli equilibri tradizionali, fino allora fondati, essenzialmente, sui meccanismi costruiti sulla capacità egemonica di pochissime *μεγάλαι πόλεις*²³ (Lega Peloponnesiaca, Lega Attica, Lega Beotica); questa crisi, per la quale il pensiero senofonteo sembra individuare un rimedio nel ricorso ai tradizionali rapporti d'alleanze interpersonali (i *φίλοι*²⁴ e la *φιλευταιρία* del re Agesilao, invocati per giustificare gli interventi armati, promossi dal re in varie città, in soccorso dei suoi amici e sostenitori²⁵) e ai vecchi schemi egemonici Sparta/Atene, propugnati, rispettivamente, dalla politica di Agesilao — di cui l'intervento a Fliunte sembra dare un saggio — e nei discorsi tenuti da Procle davanti all'assemblea ateniese, dilaga, invece, inesorabilmente, nella conclusione delle *Elleniche*²⁶.

Dunque, i *Φλειασιακά* senofontei sono distribuiti in punti chiave della narrazione storica e ad essi sembra evidentemente affidato dall'autore un qualche compito chiarificatore o esemplificatore; questo ha prodotto una tendenza diffusa, da parte della storiografia moderna, che si occupa dell'opera di Senofonte, ad esaminare soprattutto i discorsi di Procle e l'*excursus* del VII libro quasi esclusivamente sotto il loro aspetto di *exempla* idealizzati, attraverso cui Senofonte esprime il proprio pensiero e il proprio punto di vista sugli eventi, o il frutto della propria riflessione storiografica e/o politica, oppure di cui lo storico si serve per illuminare meglio la dinamica degli eventi e le posizioni delle diverse parti in causa, in ogni caso, come momenti di storia paradigmatica proiettata verso l'analisi della politica spartana o del rapporto tra Sparta e Atene²⁷, con pochi, sporadici, cenni alla loro relazione con il presente storico di Fliunte²⁸. Questo li priva, in parte, del loro valore storiografico strettamente relativo alla reale vicenda storica della *polis* a cui sono effettivamente dedicati e, di conseguenza, alla storia contemporanea su cui Senofonte rifletteva.

Al recupero di questo valore saranno, invece, riservate le pagine che seguono.

²³ Xen., *HG* VII 2.1.

²⁴ Su cui cfr. E. LUPPINO-MANES *I Φίλοι di Agesilao*, *Ktema* 16 (1991), p. 255-262.

²⁵ Xen., *Ages.* II 21-22.

²⁶ Xen., *HG* VII 5.27.

²⁷ Cfr., in particolare, J. DILLERY, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 130-138; G. DAVERIO ROCCHI, *La città di Fliunte nelle Elleniche* (n. 7), p. 41-56.

²⁸ Tra cui G. DAVERIO ROCCHI, *La città di Fliunte nelle Elleniche* (n. 7), p. 50.

3. LINEE POLITICHE A CONFRONTO NEL DIBATTITO PUBBLICO DI FLIUNTE

Secondo la ricostruzione storica offerta da Senofonte, i primissimi anni del IV secolo a.C. si aprono, per Fliunte, con un discostarsi dalla posizione di alleata fedele della Lega Peloponnesiaca, coincidente con l'esilio di un gruppo di cittadini che si proclamano *λακωνίζοντες* e sono legati ad Agesilao da vincoli personali. Sono ignote le cause degli esili e la loro esatta cronologia, se cioè le motivazioni che avevano decretato queste espulsioni fossero davvero da ricercarsi in un'accusa di *λακωνισμός*, così come gli esuli sostenevano. Senofonte, infatti, lascia parlare gli esiliati, ma non si esprime in alcun modo a riguardo. Altro punto su cui Senofonte non si esprime è l'orientamento del governo fliasio; egli non qualifica mai né il regime né la fazione al potere né gli esiliati come democratici o oligarchici. La questione è stata oggetto di ampio dibattito da parte della moderna critica storica. La posizione espressa, con una certa quantità di variabili, dalla parte più consistente degli storici moderni²⁹

²⁹ A partire da G. BUSOLT, *Die Lakedaemonier und ihre Bundesgenossen*, Leipzig 1878, p. 232-233; G. BUSOLT – H. SWOBODA, *Griechische Staatskunde*, I, München 1920, p. 438 nota 3; K.J. BELOCH, *Griechische Geschichte*, III.1, Berlin-Leipzig 1922, p. 101, 107; H.W. PARKE, *The Development of the Second Spartan Empire*, *JHS* 50 (1930), p. 72; D. LEVI, s.v. *Fliunte*, in *Enciclopedia Italiana* XV (1932), p. 553; E. MEYER, s.v. *Phleious*, in *RE* XX 1 (1941), col. 283-284 (parla di rivolgimenti costituzionali ma non d'opposizione oligarchici/democratici, quanto di un partito filo-laconico opposto ad un partito che perseguiva una maggiore indipendenza da Sparta); E. BALOGH, *Political Refugees in Ancient Greece. From the Period of the Tyrants to Alexander the Great*, Johannesburg 1943, p. 66 e note 266, 267; E. MEYER, *Geschichte des Altertums*, V, Basel-Stuttgart 1958, p. 231, 290-291; N.G.L. HAMMOND, *A History of Greece to 322 B. C.*, Oxford 1967², p. 468; R.P. LEGON, *Phliasian Politics and Policy in the Early Fourth Century B.C.*, *Historia* 16 (1967), p. 324-337; W.G. FORREST, *Storia di Sparta 950-192 B.C.*, trad. it. Bari 1970, p. 182-183; D.G. RICE, *Agesilaus, Agesipolis, and the Spartan Politics, 386-379 B.C.*, *Historia* 23 (1974), p. 171-175; G.L. CAWKWELL, *Agesilaos and Sparta*, *CQ* 26 (1976), p. 74; E. LANZILLOTTA, *La politica spartana dopo la Pace di Antalcida*, *Miscellanea Greca e Romana* VII, 1980, p. 145-149; G.L. CAWKWELL, *The King's Peace*, *CQ* 31 (1981), p. 82-83; P. CARTLEDGE, *Agesilaos and the Crisis of Sparta*, Baltimore 1987, p. 226-229, 262-266; Ch.D. HAMILTON, *Agesilaus and the Failure of Spartan Hegemony*, Ithaca-London 1991, p. 129-134; E. LUPPINO-MANES *I Φίλοι di Agesilao* (n. 24), p. 258-259; Id., *L'Agesilao di Senofonte. Tra commiato ed encomio*, Milano 1992, p. 138-139; J.-C. RIEDINGER, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 130-132, 149 nota 2; J. DILLERY, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 130-131, 209-214; C. FORNIS, *Esparta*, Barcelona 2003, p. 182-183; G. DAVERIO ROCCHI, *La città di Fliunte nelle Elleniche* (n. 7), p. 41-56. Cfr. anche L. PICCIRILLI, *Fliunte e il presunto colpo di stato democratico*, *ASNP*³ 4 (1974), p. 58 nota 13; Senofonte, *Elleniche*. Introduzione, traduzione e note di G. Daverio Rocchi (n. 7), p. 412-414 nota 19. Non si esprimono chiaramente a riguardo G. GROTE, *History of Greece*, Vol. X, London-New York 1899-1900², p. 63-64 e Ch. TUPLIN, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 90-93.

è che Fliunte fosse, fino ai primissimi anni del IV secolo, un'oligarchia, che una *stasis* avesse poi portato al potere un regime democratico e all'esilio la fazione più intransigente del partito filo-laconico — fa parziale eccezione la posizione di Hans-Joachim Gehrke³⁰, il quale ritiene che a Fliunte non fosse avvenuto alcun rivolgimento costituzionale, ma che la *politeia* fliasia fosse sempre stata una democrazia moderata, fondata sull'ampia classe contadina benestante, che doveva caratterizzare questa *polis* dall'economia prevalentemente agricola.

A questa si oppone una corrente decisamente minoritaria, che respinge in modo netto l'idea che a Fliunte fosse presente un regime democratico o fosse sopravvenuto un cambiamento di regime da oligarchico a democratico, ma che gli esili fossero stati provocati da uno scontro tra fazioni oligarchiche³¹. Questa seconda posizione mi sembra, sulla base delle testimonianze a disposizione, maggiormente condivisibile: Senofonte non menziona una *stasis* o un rivolgimento costituzionale, non attribuisce mai l'allontanamento di Fliunte da Sparta o gli esili ad una fazione democratica né qualifica, in alcuna circostanza, il governo fliasio al potere dopo il 395 a.C. come democratico e, pur avendo occasione di descrivere l'operato del principale esponente della resistenza fliasia durante l'assedio, Delphion, non lo dice mai democratico o capo del *demos* — al contrario, ad esempio, che nel caso di Mantinea³². Non vi sono, dunque, elementi sufficienti ad ipotizzare un cambio di costituzione, da oligarchica a democratica³³, come, in verità, non ve n'è alcuno per determinare

³⁰ H.-J. GEHRKE, *Stasis: Untersuchungen zu den inneren Kriegen in den griechischen Staaten des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.*, München 1985, p. 127-128.

³¹ W.E. THOMPSON, *The Politics of Phlius*, *Eranos* 68 (1970), p. 224-230; L. PICCIRILLI, *art. cit.* (n. 29), p. 57-70.

³² Senofonte connota abitualmente le fazioni in lotta nelle diverse *poleis* come democratiche o oligarchiche/aristocratiche: Xen., *HG* III 2.27; IV 8.20; V 2.3; 6; 7; VI 4.18; VII 1.42-44; 3.4; 4.15; 18; 36.

³³ Per quanto riguarda altri argomenti addotti a favore della tesi democratica, come la menzione dell'ἐκκλησία composta da 5000 uomini (Xen., *HG* V 3.16), vi sono diverse interessanti testimonianze secondo cui anche in *poleis* oligarchiche l'assemblea ristretta dei cittadini a pieno diritto era affiancata da un'assemblea allargata ad altre fasce della cittadinanza, escluse dalla vita politica attiva, ma di cui era richiesto l'intervento in casi eccezionali, forse solo a scopo consultivo; l'attestazione migliore riguarda Crotone (D.S. XII 9.3-4: cfr. F. SARTORI, *Problemi di storia costituzionale italiana*, Roma 1953, p. 116; G. CAMASSA, *La codificazione delle leggi e le istituzioni politiche delle città greche della Calabria in età arcaica e classica*, in *Storia della Calabria Antica*, a cura di S. Settis, Roma-Reggio Calabria 1987, p. 643; F. GHINATTI, *Assemblee greche d'Occidente*, Torino 1996, p. 84-85), ma anche Reggio, Agrigento e Corcira presentano testimonianze interpretabili in questo senso (F. SARTORI, *op. cit.*, p. 133-136 e 140; F. GHINATTI, *Synkletoi*

la natura della costituzione fliasia nel corso dei secoli precedenti: che essa fosse oligarchica è una congettura, per quanto ragionevole, che si può fondare sulle stesse osservazioni fatte da Gehrke sulla struttura socio-economica di Fliunte. L'economia di questa *polis* doveva ruotare principalmente attorno alle risorse offerte dalla fertile pianura che ne costituiva la *chora* e, di conseguenza, il suo assetto sociale doveva presentare una larga fascia di contadini relativamente benestanti; questa classe contadina doveva corrispondere suppergiù al censo oplitico³⁴ e un simile assetto sociale, con buona probabilità, ad un'oligarchia moderata o anche ad una democrazia moderata³⁵. In questo secondo caso, però, si deve considerare, a mio parere, difficile che Senofonte mantenesse il silenzio e non mettesse in una luce negativa il governo fliasio su questo punto se esso fosse stato democratico, attribuendogli esili immotivati³⁶ o la causa dell'allontanamento da Sparta. Quest'ultima considerazione vale sia in generale sia relativamente al fatto che lo storico fa un elogio ben circostanziato delle virtù fliasie già durante l'assedio posto da Agesilao, perfino di Delphion³⁷: se Agesilao avesse rovesciato una costituzione democratica in oligarchica, Senofonte non avrebbe fatto un simile elogio della città *prima* che questo avvenisse, quando cioè essa era retta dai democratici, mettendo in evidenza una costanza di temperamento e di qualità morali della *polis* che, già manifesti ai tempi dell'assedio furono in atto dopo, quando Fliunte era tornata una fedele e attiva alleata di Sparta, retta da un governo formato secondo le direttive di Agesilao — sono, infatti, le stesse doti esaltate nell'*excursus* del VII libro. L'elogio casuale non rientra nelle modalità dell'esposizione storica senofontea, in cui doti e vizi morali sono indicatori di una valutazione in quanto categorie di pensiero storiografico e, prima ancora, politico, secondo una mentalità integralmente e originariamente 'aristocratica'; lo si può constatare, ad esempio, nel caso, parallelo, di Mantinea³⁸, in cui l'avvento dell'aristocrazia

italiote e siceliote, *Kokalos* 5 [1959], p. 121-122, 136-138; ID., *Ricerche sulle synkletei di Grecia*, *PP* 15 [1960], p. 371; ID., *Assemblée grecque d'Occidente*, p. 27-39).

³⁴ Il contingente oplitico fliasio presente alla battaglia di Platea contava 1000 uomini: Hdt. IX 28.

³⁵ Secondo la conclusione di H.-J. GEHRKE, *op. cit.* (n. 30), p. 127, simile a quella descritta in Arist., *Pol.* VI 2.1318b1.

³⁶ Xen., *HG* V 2.9.

³⁷ Cfr. E. LANZILLOTTA, *art. cit.* (n. 29), p. 146; Ch. TUPLIN, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 92; in generale J.-C. RIEDINGER, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 242 nota 3.

³⁸ Xen., *HG* V 2.7. G. DAVERIO ROCCHI, *La città di Fliunte nelle Elleniche* (n. 7), p. 51 ritiene che il coraggio in guerra e la temperanza siano esposti in maniera del tutto

dopo l'espulsione dei democratici dalla città viene descritto come apportatore di migliori nella condizione generale dei Mantineesi, una volta liberati dalla — solita — spregevolezza di quelli. Per queste ragioni mi sembra difficile ritenere che gli esili furono dovuti ad un rivolgimento di natura costituzionale, molto più probabilmente ad uno scontro tra fazioni proprio sull'orientamento politico della città nei confronti di Sparta³⁹.

Il fattore principale, che sembra determinare le scelte del governo fliasio in questo campo, si può individuare, piuttosto, nella reticenza a partecipare alle operazioni militari della Lega con proprie truppe, sia in occasione dell'episodio in cui, per la prima volta, si manifesta questo nuovo atteggiamento della città — il mancato invio di truppe alla battaglia presso il torrente Nemea — sia in seguito, quando la città — narra Senofonte — decide di sovvenzionare, con un'ingente somma di denaro, la spedizione in Tracia di Agesipoli del 381 a.C., senza, però, parteciparvi con un contingente⁴⁰. La crisi, che portò all'esilio dei gruppi filolaconici estremisti, potrebbe essere scaturita proprio da qui, dal desiderio di disimpegnarsi militarmente, di allentare, agli esordi di una nuova guerra, il carico dello sforzo bellico, che nel corso del conflitto peloponnesiaco era stato notevole per la città⁴¹.

Che il problema insorto tra Fliunte e Agesilao/Sparta fosse, essenzialmente, di questa natura — e non legato ad un rivolgimento di sostanza costituzionale — lo si può, a ben vedere, rintracciare non troppo nascostamente celato nel testo senofonteo, sia nelle parole usate dagli esuli per convincere il governo spartano a intervenire a loro vantaggio presso il governo fliasio sia nella condotta di Agesilao durante l'assedio. Gli uni, infatti, ammessi a parlare dinnanzi agli efori, adducono come motivo che debba indurli ad aiutarli la circostanza per cui, andati essi in esilio, la

convenzionale e si possano rintracciare anche nella descrizione della resistenza dei Mantineesi e in altri casi, ma la lettura dei paragrafi senofontei dedicati alla vicenda di Mantinea non sembra confermare — a parte la convenzionalità, che rientra negli elementi costitutivi del registro narrativo paradigmatico: cfr., ad es., su questo J. DILLERY, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 130-138 — una tale impressione: non vi si fa cenno, infatti, né di coraggio né di temperanza degli assediati.

³⁹ E che Wesley Thompson abbia ragione nell'affermare che un tipo di analisi che ipotizza un avvenuto rivolgimento costituzionale a Fliunte rientra in quella visione tradizionale — e schematica — che riconduce tutte le vicende della politica greca di età classica ad «an incessant struggle between oligarchs and democrats».

⁴⁰ Xen., *HG* V 3.10.

⁴¹ Oltre al regolare impegno con l'esercito della Lega, vanno aggiunti svariati episodi di quello che appare un conflitto diretto con Argo: Th. V 57-60; 83.3; 115.1; VI 105.3.

città non segue più in guerra gli Spartani, né ne accoglie l'esercito entro le mura (argomentazione che gli efori trovano degna d'attenzione)⁴²; l'altro interviene a vantaggio dei propri φίλοι⁴³ ma, soprattutto, indotto dalla necessità pratica di recuperare gli alleati fliasii all'impegno attivo nella Lega, intento comunicato nel suo tacito gesto — veramente 'laco-nico'! — di costituire i fuoriusciti fliasii in corpo armato, in risposta alle critiche dei suoi uomini (che non ci fosse un motivo per inimicarsi un'intera *polis* — evidentemente alleata — se non l'interesse di pochi) e in netta opposizione all'atteggiamento di Agesipoli, che si accontentava di una fedeltà 'passiva', per così dire (elogiando calorosamente l'invio del contributo in denaro alla sua spedizione tracia, al posto delle truppe): secondo Agesilao, gli Spartani τοιούτων δέοιντο συστρατιωτῶν! Ed è per conseguire questo scopo che essi sono intervenuti contro Fliunte⁴⁴.

Nello stesso tempo, questo disimpegno dagli obblighi militari non fu seguito, per Fliunte, da un cambio di campo; essa rimase un'alleata di Sparta. Ciò può essere spiegato con il timore che un avvicinamento all'orbita di Argo segnasse la fine dell'indipendenza della città, date le tendenze espansionistiche e la politica di sinecismo sempre praticata da questa potente vicina⁴⁵. Quanto senso aveva, però, un atteggiamento di questo tipo, di lealtà dimidiata verso Sparta, in un'epoca in cui la politica di quest'ultima era dominata da Agesilao (le cui idee non erano certo ignote ai Fliasii)⁴⁶? La posizione in cui Fliunte si pone nel corso della guerra di Corinto è una sorta di via di mezzo estremamente rischiosa, un tentativo di tirarsi parzialmente fuori dall'intrigo degli eventi, ma senza assumere una posizione davvero neutrale. Questa strategia dell'astensione risulta, comunque, inefficace perché, da un lato, Ificrate attacca ugualmente la città nel 391, coinvolgendola nel conflitto

⁴² Xen., *HG* V 2.8-9.

⁴³ Xen., *HG* V 3.13; Ages. II 21-22.

⁴⁴ Interessante anche l'osservazione di G.L. CAWKWELL, *Agesilaus and Sparta* (n. 29), p. 73-74.

⁴⁵ Vd. in particolare Paus. VIII 27.1, ma cfr. M. MOGGI, *I sinecismi e le annessioni territoriali di Argo nel V secolo a.C.*, *ASNP*³ 4 (1974), p. 1249-1263, per una disamina delle molte fonti disponibili per ciascuna città sinecizzata da Argo e, per una discussione del processo di assimilazione al territorio argivo dell'intera piana di Argo, i recenti C. MORGAN – T. WHITELOW, *Pots and Politics: Ceramic Evidence for the Rise of the Argive State*, *AJA* 95 (1991), p. 79-108; J.M. HALL, *How Argive was the «Argive» Heraion? The Political and Cultic Geography of the Argive Plain, 900-400 B.C.*, *AJA* 99 (1995), p. 577-613; N. ALONI-RONEN, *Hera and the Formation of Aristocratic Collective Identity: Evidence from the Argive Plain*, *SCI* 16 (1997), p. 9-19.

⁴⁶ Xen., *HG* V 3.10.

e costringendola ad accogliere una guarnigione spartana; dall'altro, essa appare destinata, fin dall'inizio, ad essere frustrata da un intervento spartano: è quello che avviene tra il 385 e il 379, quando Agesilao ha l'occasione di occuparsi di Fliunte.

Dunque, che senso ebbe questa politica, apparentemente incapace di guardare, in prospettiva realistica, ai destini della città e alla natura del suo rapporto con Sparta? Se lasciare quest'alleanza per avvicinarsi al campo avversario — e, quindi, ad Argo — era impossibile, a causa del timore che ciò significasse esserne fagocitata, che senso ebbe questo tentativo di venir meno — per probabili esigenze interne alla *polis* — all'impegno militare che la Lega richiedeva? Una risposta verosimile è che il governo fliasio intraprese questa via fidando sulla fazione politica che a Sparta aveva i suoi principali sostenitori nei re Agiadi e, cioè, che la linea politica di tolleranza, seguita da Pausania prima e da suo figlio Agesipoli poi, avesse delle prospettive di successo rispetto a quella, più dura, di Agesilao. In effetti, i primissimi anni della guerra corinzia non videro un immediato prevalere della linea politica di Agesilao. In seguito, è anche possibile pensare che il timore di vendette personali, a cui gli esuli, sostenuti da Agesilao, avrebbero potuto abbandonarsi, una volta rientrati in città, spingesse i rappresentanti del governo fliasio, responsabili di quelle scelte, a persistere nelle loro posizioni. Tuttavia, la città ebbe, a differenza di Mantinea⁴⁷, la possibilità di risolvere la questione degli esuli semplicemente reintegrandoli, senza l'intervento dell'esercito spartano, per quanto il ritorno nella vita pubblica fliasia degli esuli avrebbe potuto portare ad un nuovo orientamento verso Sparta — forse con la loro presenza e il loro voto in qualche organo deliberativo della città — e ad un ritorno di Fliunte agli impegni militari nella Lega, una situazione che chi era al governo cercò di evitare fino alla fine.

Un indizio in questo senso può venire dai due discorsi pronunciati da Procle davanti all'assemblea ateniese. È, certamente, difficile sfuggire a un'interpretazione che identifichi come artificiale la natura dei discorsi fatti pronunciare a Procle, in un momento tanto critico della narrazione senofontea, quello di massimo pericolo per Sparta (che rischia di essere definitivamente sconfitta dall'esercito guidato da Epaminonda), ma anche per Atene che, come ricorda Procle, sarà sicuramente il bersaglio successivo dell'esercito beotico: un orizzonte in cui le potenze egemoniche greche tradizionali sono in gravissima crisi. Tuttavia, che i discorsi

⁴⁷ Xen., *HG* V 2.1-7.

riportati da Senofonte siano autentici o meno, che siano in piccola o grande misura un rimaneggiamento del vero intervento di Procle davanti all'assemblea ateniese, tutto ciò non implica che essi non riflettessero il pensiero di colui a cui Senofonte li fa pronunciare⁴⁸. Al contrario, di certo Senofonte, che faceva parte, insieme con Procle, del circolo di Agesilao e che frequentava l'ambiente di Fliunte, non poté non far pronunciare a Procle un discorso che riflettesse appieno la sua posizione, il suo pensiero, la sua analisi della situazione, condivisi, naturalmente, da Senofonte stesso. Non avrebbe potuto che essere così. Che Senofonte abbia inteso attribuire un valore di *exemplum* alla vicenda di Fliunte, soprattutto quella parte presente nell'*excursus* del VII libro, è indubbio. Che anche i discorsi di Procle siano stati concepiti e retoricamente costruiti, in modo del tutto o parzialmente artificiale, per assolvere (anche) ad una funzione storiografica è altrettanto verosimile. Tuttavia, questo valore sarebbe, a mio parere, meglio compreso se ci si sforzasse maggiormente di vedere le riflessioni fatte sulle vicissitudini di questa μικρὰ πόλις non solo come quelle di Senofonte, ma anche come quelle della stessa classe dirigente, che guidò gli affari di Fliunte e ne tracciò la linea politica negli eventi presi come esempio da Senofonte nell'*excursus* del VII libro, e cioè, *in primis*, Procle e il suo circolo. Si tratta, insomma di assumere il contenuto dei discorsi di Procle come uno specchio del pensiero, in politica estera, della Fliunte reale, e non di una ideale μικρὰ πόλις, costruita da Senofonte a livello letterario.

I discorsi di Procle mirano a promuovere l'alleanza tra Sparta e Atene nell'ottica di una egemonia duale e paritaria tra le due tradizionali *poleis* egemoni del mondo greco; esse si presentano come i due nuclei attorno a cui le alleate minori possono dare efficacemente il loro contributo. Diversi passi, soprattutto del suo primo discorso, sono degli incitamenti all'azione comune e mostrano le alleate minori della Lega Peloponnesiaca nel ruolo di attive e solerti alleate. Un passo, in particolare, è illuminante⁴⁹:

Se sembriamo essere piccole *poleis*, noi che vogliamo condividere il pericolo con loro [*sc. gli Spartani*], considerate che, se si unirà a noi la vostra città, non saremo più piccole *poleis* a intervenire in loro aiuto.

⁴⁸ Cfr. W.E. HIGGINS, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 121-122; J. BUCKLER, *art. cit.* (n. 18), p. 195-197; V.J. GRAY, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 112-121; J. DILLERY, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 130; E. LUPPINO-MANES, *Egemonia di terra ed egemonia di mare* (n. 17), p. 172-173; G. DAVERIO ROCCHI, *La città di Fliunte nelle Elleniche* (n. 7), p. 50.

⁴⁹ Xen., *HG* VI 5.44.

E ancora, nel suo secondo discorso⁵⁰:

È, dunque, naturale che anche gli alleati siano disposti molto più volentieri a condividere con voi [*sc.* gli Ateniesi] questo rischio [*sc.* la guerra].

In controluce, rispetto a queste dichiarazioni, si può leggere la posizione sostenuta dai *λακωνίζοντες*, posizione sconfitta nel corso della guerra corinzia e minoritaria in città fino all'intervento di Agesilao: l'unica via per mantenere l'autonomia è, per Fliunte, combattere, non defilarsi dall'azione, se essa vuole tenere a distanza l'avversaria più diretta e pericolosa — Argo — e sostenere Sparta e la Lega Peloponnesiaca quale strumento dell'egemonia di Sparta e della sua — relativa — autonomia. Un altro genere di scelta non ha prospettiva, né può essere un'alternativa accettabile il desiderare i vantaggi dell'alleanza con Sparta senza contraccambiarli con l'impegno e la partecipazione. Questa posizione, espressa da Procle, è coerente con il comportamento che la città avrà negli anni seguenti, fino al 366/365, di assoluta fedeltà alla causa spartana e di resistenza estrema ai continui attacchi della coalizione avversaria, i comportamenti, cioè, messi in luce e grandemente elogiati da Senofonte nell'*excursus* del VII libro.

Di fronte a considerazioni così chiare sulle scelte obbligate che la *polis* di Fliunte si trova a dover fare, si impone una domanda sul senso delle scelte, di segno opposto, fatte dalla classe dirigente della città negli anni tra il 395 e il 380/379: se quella prospettiva appariva senza futuro, che senso ebbe? Ci si può porre la stessa domanda riflettendo sul caso, analogo per molti versi, ma portato alle estreme conseguenze, di Corinto.

4. CRISI E DISORIENTAMENTO DELLA CLASSE DIRIGENTE DI CORINTO

La difficoltà di individuare le dinamiche della vita politica fliasica nel periodo della guerra di Corinto e, conseguentemente, nel periodo subito successivo alla guerra, accomuna il caso di Fliunte a quello di Corinto, la *polis* al centro degli eventi che portarono allo scoppio della guerra. Anche in questo caso le fonti antiche non connotano con precisione i gruppi politici che si contendevano il controllo della città — per quanto,

⁵⁰ Xen., *HG* VII 1.5.

anche in questo caso, si sia supposta, da parte dei moderni, una rivoluzione democratica⁵¹, di cui, però, manca qualunque attestazione.

Dopo il 404 a.C., la città aveva cominciato a manifestare, in occasioni sempre più ricorrenti, un comportamento progressivamente più distante dalle posizioni spartane e più ostile verso di esse. È possibile riscontrare questo dato già a partire dai mesi finali della guerra del Peloponneso, quando i Corinzi chiesero la distruzione di Atene, non ottenendola⁵²; poi nel 403 a.C., quando si rifiutarono di seguire il re Pausania ad Atene, contro i democratici che occupavano il Pireo⁵³, nel 400/399, quando rifiutarono di partecipare alla spedizione punitiva contro Elide⁵⁴, nel 396, quando non si unirono alla spedizione condotta in Asia da Agesilao, adducendo una giustificazione di natura religiosa⁵⁵. Poi, allo scoppio della guerra, i Corinzi si rifiutarono ancora di seguire l'esercito del re Pausania in Beozia⁵⁶ e, in seguito, stipularono un'alleanza con Beoti, Ateniesi e Argivi⁵⁷, passando nel campo avversario. Dunque, da un'iniziale venir meno agli obblighi di membro della Lega, Corinto procedette a quel passo estremo che Fliunte non fece mai. Dell'inarrestabile deteriorarsi dei rapporti tra le due *poleis*, dal mancato assolvimento degli obblighi di membro della Lega Peloponnesiaca a questo passaggio nel campo opposto, le fonti antiche danno diverse spiegazioni⁵⁸; nessuna,

⁵¹ G.T. GRIFFITH, *The Union of Corinth and Argos (392-386 B. C.)*, *Historia* 1 (1950), p. 241-256; D. KAGAN, *The Economic Origins of the Corinthian War (395-387 B.C.)*, *PP* 16 (1961), p. 333-341; ID., *Corinthian Politics and the Revolution of 392 B.C.*, *Historia* 11 (1962), p. 447-457 (con una disamina delle posizioni precedenti); Ch.D. HAMILTON, *The Politics of Revolution in Corinth, 395-386 B.C.*, *Historia* 21 (1972), p. 27-28, 31-37. *Contra* S. PERLMAN, *The Causes and the Outbreak of the Corinthian War*, *CQ* 14 (1964), p. 68-70 e nota 5; J.B. SALMON, *Wealthy Corinth. A History of the City to 338 B.C.*, Oxford 1984, p. 348, 355-357; W.E. THOMPSON, *The Stasis at Corinth*, *SIFC* 4 (1986), p. 169.

⁵² Xen., *HG* II 2.19-20.

⁵³ Xen., *HG* II 4.30.

⁵⁴ Xen., *HG* III 2.25; D.S. XIV 17.7.

⁵⁵ Paus. III 9.1-2.

⁵⁶ Xen., *HG* III 5.17; 23.

⁵⁷ And. III 22; 25; D.S. XIV 82.1.

⁵⁸ Xen., *HG* II 4.30: i Corinzi, come i Beoti, temevano il fatto che gli Spartani tentassero di fare di Atene un loro dominio privato e fidato. Xen., *HG* III 5.12; Iust. X 12-13: alla fine della guerra peloponnesiaca i Corinzi, come i Beoti e altri stati, reclamavano una spartizione del bottino, una richiesta categoricamente respinta da Sparta. Xen., *HG* III 5.1-2; IV 2.1: la coalizione avversaria di Sparta nacque grazie al denaro distribuito da Timocrate di Rodi, agente di Titrauste, a vari esponenti politici in ogni *polis*, tra cui Timolao e Poliante di Corinto. *Hell.Oxy.* VII (II) 3: chi, a Corinto, ricevette l'oro persiano e desiderava cambiare la situazione, era favorevole ad Argivi e Beoti e ostile a Sparta, mentre Timolao nutriva verso gli Spartani dei rancori personali. D.S. XIV 82.2:

però, menziona una rivoluzione democratica, né fa cenno ad una fazione democratica.

Alcuni storici moderni hanno osservato che nessuna di queste spiegazioni sembra giustificare, in modo particolarmente convincente, la decisione di Corinto di entrare in guerra contro Sparta⁵⁹. Eppure, ad un'attenta considerazione, esse mostrano una situazione in cui, da un lato, come altre *poleis*, Corinto temeva l'accrescersi del controllo e delle intrusioni esercitate da Sparta nelle vicende di politica interna delle alleate. Dall'altro, essa era rimasta cocentamente delusa nell'obiettivo che l'aveva guidata nei trent'anni di guerra accanita e senza compromessi contro Atene, e cioè un notevole ridimensionamento dell'avversaria, nell'ottica di una riacquisizione delle posizioni perse nel tempo a causa dell'affermarsi del primato di potenza marittima di Atene⁶⁰; già all'epoca della pace di Nicia, la prospettiva di una riappacificazione tra Sparta e Atene, che lasciava intatta la potenza ateniese e invariate (se non peggiorate) le condizioni che avevano scatenato la guerra, aveva provocato nei Corinzi una simile reazione di violento dissenso verso Sparta, portandoli a promuovere la prima alleanza con Argo⁶¹, che divenne il punto di partenza della quadruplice alleanza tra Argivi, Elei, Arcadi di Mantinea e Ateniesi, e a disertare le azioni militari della Lega Peloponnesiaca⁶². In quell'occasione, però, i Corinzi si erano, alla fine, dissociati dai nuovi alleati, rifiutando il definitivo passaggio di campo⁶³, più per evitare l'alleanza con Atene (che l'evolversi delle circostanze, contro le loro iniziali intenzioni, avrebbe comportato) che per una ritrovata concordia con Sparta. Nel 404

gli Spartani erano odiati dai loro alleati a causa del peso del loro controllo; perciò gli alleati pensarono che sarebbe stato facile abbattere l'egemonia spartana, se le maggiori *poleis* avessero fatto causa comune. Pausania III 9.8: quanti tra i Corinzi presero il denaro persiano, cioè Timolao e Poliante, parteggiavano per gli Argivi. Per un'analisi moderna delle cause cfr. la bibliografia nelle note successive. Per la bibliografia precedente cfr. S. PERLMAN, *art. cit.* (n. 51), p. 64 nota 2.

⁵⁹ Cfr. S. PERLMAN, *art. cit.* (n. 51), p. 72-73; Ch.D. HAMILTON, *The Politics of Revolution in Corinth, 395-386 B.C.* (n. 51), p. 21; J.B. SALMON, *op. cit.* (n. 51), p. 345-347.

⁶⁰ Cfr. K. ADSHEAD, *Politics of the Archaic Peloponnese. The Transition from Archaic to Classical Politics*, Aldershot 1986, p. 67-72.

⁶¹ Th. V 27.1-3. Cfr. anche H.D. WESTLAKE, *Corinth and the Argive Coalition*, *AJPh* 61 (1940), p. 413-421; G.T. GRIFFITH, *art. cit.* (n. 51), p. 237-238; D. KAGAN, *Corinthian Diplomacy after the Peace of Nicias*, *AJPh* 81 (1960), p. 292; ID., *The Economic Origins of the Corinthian War (395-387 B. C.)* (n. 51), p. 335-337; R. SEAGER, *After the Peace of Nicias: Diplomacy and Policy, 421-416 B.C.*, *CQ* 26 (1976), p. 249-269; J.B. SALMON, *op. cit.* (n. 51), p. 346.

⁶² Th. V 83.1; VI 7.1.

⁶³ Th. V 48.2-3; 50.5; D.S. XII 77.3.

Sparta aveva impedito la distruzione di Atene, aveva rifiutato di dividere il bottino di guerra, frustrando le speranze di quel recupero di floridezza e prestigio, che sembrava poter venire dall'eliminazione di Atene, e negando persino il risarcimento, almeno parziale, delle perdite derivate dallo sforzo bellico⁶⁴. Infatti, la guerra del Peloponneso, lungi dall'aver risollevato le sorti economiche di Corinto, in base ai dati messi in evidenza da Guy T. Griffith e Donald Kagan, sembra averne peggiorato, e non di poco, la situazione⁶⁵. Queste considerazioni venivano pesantemente aggravate dal timore che Sparta trasformasse Atene in uno strumento della sua politica, dopo averne promosso l'ingresso nella Lega Peloponnesiaca — cosa che andava nella direzione opposta agli interessi corinzi — un timore espresso apertamente da Senofonte⁶⁶: anche questo era stato un vecchio cruccio della città contro la maggiore alleata che, nel corso di una delle prime azioni della Lega alla fine del VI secolo — il tentativo di riportare Ippia al potere ad Atene — aveva prodotto un altro momento di dissenso tra Sparta e Corinto. La delusione e la frustrazione si erano concretizzate in modo vieppiù acuto nelle delusioni personali di alcuni uomini politici corinzi, che avevano investito personalmente nel rapporto di alleanza con Sparta durante la guerra del Peloponneso; di quelli che, stando alle fonti, avevano ricevuto l'oro persiano, Timolao e Poliante⁶⁷, è noto che avevano collaborato entrambi attivamente con Sparta durante la guerra del Peloponneso, Timolao nella guerra deceleica⁶⁸, Poliante come comandante della flotta corinzia⁶⁹. Di Timolao le *Elleniche di Ossirinco* affermano che, dopo un passato di fervente λακωνίζων, aveva maturato motivi di astio personale nei confronti di

⁶⁴ Cfr. D. KAGAN, *The Economic Origins of the Corinthian War (395-387 B. C.)* (n. 51), p. 338, 340; Ch.D. HAMILTON, *The Politics of Revolution in Corinth, 395-386 B.C.*, art. cit. (n. 51), p. 22.

⁶⁵ G.T. GRIFFITH, art. cit. (n. 51), p. 240-241; D. KAGAN, *Politics and Policy in Corinth 421-336 B.C.*, Diss. Ohio State University 1958, p. 66-69, 73-76; ID., *The Economic Origins of the Corinthian War (395-387 B. C.)* (n. 51), p. 335-337; J.K. DAVIES, *Sparta e l'area peloponnesiaca. Atene e il dominio del mare*, in *I Greci. Storia Cultura Arte Società*, II 2, a cura di S. Settis, Torino 1997, p. 123: l'effetto più visibile di questa decadenza economica della città si potrebbe riconoscere nella drastica riduzione del numero degli opliti presenti alla battaglia del torrente Nemea (395 a.C.), 3000 uomini, rispetto a quello del contingente corinzio a Platea, 5000 uomini, e nel vistoso calo di consistenza della flotta nel corso della guerra del Peloponneso.

⁶⁶ Xen., *HG* II 4.30.

⁶⁷ Xen., *HG* III 5.1; *Hell.Oxy.* VII (II) 3; Paus. III 9.8.

⁶⁸ *Hell.Oxy.* VII (II) 3.

⁶⁹ Th. VII 34.2.

Sparta⁷⁰. Una disamina delle fonti mette, pertanto, in luce un'acuta insoddisfazione per la conclusione della guerra del Peloponneso che, sostanzialmente, non aveva portato a Corinto quei vantaggi sperati contro la rivale Atene (un vecchio motivo della politica corinzia). Nel 395, al contrario di quanto era accaduto in occasione della stipulazione della Pace di Nicia e della prima alleanza con Argo, Corinto si spinge fino al passaggio di campo.

Se queste sono le premesse della guerra contro Sparta, quali le prospettive? Se, come scrive Diodoro, lo scopo della guerra era abbattere l'egemonia spartana attraverso l'azione comune delle maggiori *poleis*⁷¹, l'esito sembra disastroso, almeno per la collettività dei Corinzi⁷²: Corinto finisce sinecizzata da Argo, perdendo l'indipendenza. Era questo l'esito, non troppo imprevedibile, di un eccessivo avvicinamento ad Argo, che aveva costantemente attuato, nel corso dei secoli precedenti, una politica di assorbimento di *poleis* vicine e alleate; proprio questo atteggiamento di Argo aveva prodotto, nel corso del VI secolo, l'adesione alla Lega Peloponnesiaca delle città dell'*Akte* e di molte *poleis* del Peloponneso nord-orientale. Condurre una guerra per eliminare l'egemonia spartana, quando il risultato sarebbe stato il dare spazio d'azione ad un'avversaria

⁷⁰ *Hell.Oxy.* VII (II) 3: «Timolao nutriva inimicizia verso Sparta per ragioni personali, ma, in precedenza, era stato molto favorevolmente disposto verso gli Spartani e un entusiasta filo-lacone, come è possibile capire dai fatti della guerra deceleica». Cfr. anche S. PERLMAN, *art. cit.* (n. 51), p. 68-69; Senofonte, *Elleniche*. Introduzione, traduzione e note di G. Daverio Rocchi (n. 7), p. 347 nota 1.

⁷¹ D.S. XIV 82.2.

⁷² G.T. GRIFFITH, *art. cit.* (n. 51), *passim*, seguito da M. MOGGI, *I sinecismi interstatali greci*, Volume I, Pisa 1976, p. 248, offre una lettura molto diversa di questo punto; sebbene gli Argivi agirono coltivando il progetto di assorbire Corinto nel proprio Stato (p. 245, 249-251, 254-256), la reazione negativa dei Corinzi all'obbligo, imposto dalla Pace di Antalcida, di sciogliere l'unione delle due città, dimostra, secondo lo studioso, che il *demos* corinzio aveva trovato tali benefici nella nuova condizione da non volervi rinunciare, e che i rapporti tra i due stati erano caratterizzati da una particolare simpatia reciproca (p. 253-255). È anche possibile che il *demos* corinzio avesse trovato vantaggi nella nuova forma politica. Le parole di Senofonte in *HG* V 1.34 descrivono, però, una situazione un po' diversa: i Corinzi al governo (autori delle persecuzioni verso i sostenitori della pace con Sparta) ritardano nel congedare il presidio armato argivo, evidentemente per paura, poiché, una volta che sono costretti a cedere alla minaccia di Agesilao, vanno anch'essi spontaneamente via dalla città, dove, invece, gli esuli da costoro precedentemente fatti fuggire, sono riammessi con entusiasmo. Dunque, sono quelli tra i Corinzi che hanno condotto la guerra a indugiare nel far smobilitare gli Argivi, temendo il ritorno degli avversari. In ogni caso, poi, le considerazioni sulla opportunità e i vantaggi che il fenomeno nuovo, rappresentato dalla fusione di queste due grandi *poleis*, avrebbero potuto portare agli sviluppi successivi della storia greca, devono essere distinte da quelle sul fallimento degli obiettivi che i Corinzi si ponevano al loro ingresso in guerra.

più vicina e più aggressiva, non sembra avere senso. C'è, evidentemente, a Corinto, un problema di prospettive politiche e di classe dirigente, la quale sembra agire non guidata da una visione lucida e chiara degli obiettivi e delle possibilità del loro conseguimento, ma sembra abbandonare le sorti e la direzione politica della città all'irrazionale orientamento delle passioni, essere in balia della vecchia frustrazione per l'incapacità della città a riscattarsi dall'inesorabile declino economico e a recuperare il prestigio di un tempo ormai lontano, e degli asti e degli interessi di singoli uomini. Questo stato di confusione sembra essere confermato dal succedersi di gravissimi disordini civili e tensioni in cui Corinto cade dopo i primi mesi di guerra⁷³.

5. ΛΑΚΩΝΙΣΜΟΣ Ο REALPOLITIK?

La classe dirigente di Fliunte non segue fino in fondo questo percorso e, se pure anch'essa si trova in uno stato di sofferenza verso Sparta allo scoppio della guerra corinzia — per motivi all'inizio non chiariti da Senofonte — tuttavia conserva sempre una posizione di diffidente, ma stabile, alleanza con la città che può garantirle, comunque, l'indipendenza da Argo. Una delle sue componenti, quella che in questi anni risulta prevalente, prova a percorrere una via intermedia, mettendo in atto la linea politica del disimpegno; viene, in questo modo, a scontrarsi con una, se non due fazioni (il partito di Podanemo e quello di Procle) che, invece, sostengono una linea di politica attiva: seguire Sparta e rafforzare la sua posizione di egemone. Almeno la fazione filo-laconica più oltranzista (probabilmente quella ultra-oligarchica), capeggiata da Podanemo, va in esilio. Se i discorsi che Senofonte fa pronunciare a Procle, davanti all'assemblea ateniese, sono il riverbero dell'analisi politica dell'oratore su questi anni e delle soluzioni che egli auspica, allora il ruolo che egli assegna alle alleate minori riflette, con molta probabilità, l'idea, risultata minoritaria, che il suo gruppo politico aveva sostenuto per Fliunte negli anni del disimpegno, cioè quella dell'azione al fianco di Sparta.

Fliunte, come ogni alleato, deve *combattere* con i suoi uomini accanto a Sparta: il sistema di egemonia è un sistema integrato il cui buon funzionamento è affidato tanto alla città egemone quanto alle alleate e

⁷³ Per un'esposizione puntuale della situazione cfr. W.E. THOMPSON, *The Stasis at Corinth* (n. 51), p. 165-170, in particolare p. 168.

ciascuna deve assolvere ai doveri del proprio ruolo, senza tradirlo, defilarsene o travalicarlo (alla città egemone non meno delle alleate: le critiche rivolte all'occupazione della Cadmea, all'abuso di potere a dispregio dell'autonomia delle *poleis* alleate nel discorso di Autocle⁷⁴ lo ricordano, sono anch'essi elementi di disfunzione di questo sistema, proprio come nel precedente della Lega Delio-Attica).

Nei discorsi di Procle e nel suo impegno diplomatico a favore dell'egemonia duale non c'è solo un interesse 'ideologico' o argomentazioni astrattamente costruite da Senofonte: piuttosto, sono evidenti gli interessi reali e i vantaggi concreti per Fliunte, sia rispetto a Sparta che ad Atene. Sparta è lontana e in difficoltà in casa propria e ciò rende le alleate del Peloponneso orientale esposte agli attacchi della coalizione avversaria; in questo frangente, principalmente a queste città, l'aiuto di Atene è necessario: è soprattutto il sostegno militare di Atene che permette a Fliunte di superare i momenti di massima difficoltà negli anni tra il 368 e il 366 (e consente la difesa di Corinto ed Epidaurò)⁷⁵. Infatti, nel dibattito svoltosi ad Atene, Senofonte assegna lo spazio più consistente al delegato fliasio e a quello corinzio Clitela, venuti a perorare la causa spartana⁷⁶.

La natura della riflessione sottesa al discorso di Procle, non paradigmatica, ma ben radicata nell'esperienza reale e nella contingenza, in cui si trovavano le alleate peloponnesiache minori, è evidente dal prosieguo delle vicende corinzie e fliasie negli anni del declino di Sparta: l'anno della svolta è il 365, quando Corinto, Fliunte, Epidaurò e le altre *poleis* argoliche alleate di Sparta (le *poleis* dell'*Akte*) si rendono conto di non poter più continuare la guerra, divenuta una strenua resistenza all'assedio del nemico⁷⁷. Senofonte adduce come motivo della decisione di abbandonare le ostilità in quel momento il grave timore dei Corinzi (di certo condiviso dagli altri alleati che si associano alla pace separata) che Atene coltivi sue proprie mire di occupazione della città⁷⁸: è verosimile che questo timore fosse reale. Oltre alla testimonianza di Senofonte, va, infatti, osservato che i Tebani accettano di stipulare la pace alle condizioni proposte dai Corinzi, opponendo pochissime difficoltà; è certamente

⁷⁴ Xen., *HG* V 4.1; VI 3.10-11; VI 3.7-9.

⁷⁵ Xen., *HG* VII 1.15; 25; 2.10; 2.17-23; 4.1; 4.4-5; Aeschin. II 168; D.S. XV 75.3; Plin. *Nat.* XXXV 76.

⁷⁶ Xen., *HG* VI 5.33-49.

⁷⁷ Xen., *HG* 4.4-11. Cfr. anche Isoc. VI 91.

⁷⁸ Xen., *HG* VII 4.2-6.

vero che, già con il solo ritiro dal conflitto di questi stati, i Tebani avevano raggiunto un importante obiettivo, ma, rispetto alla situazione precedente al 368, cioè alla stipulazione dell'alleanza tra Sparta e Atene e al chiaro schierarsi di Atene contro la coalizione guidata da Tebe, c'è da ritenere che anche la partecipazione al conflitto di Atene li spingesse a più miti consigli, nel timore che essa finisse veramente per estendere il proprio controllo diretto su queste *poleis* stremate dalla guerra, approfittando delle sue guarnigioni, stanziato a difesa di queste città⁷⁹.

Sono, dunque, gli Ateniesi gli agenti provocatori della dissoluzione finale della Lega Peloponnesiaca e, insieme, della fine della capacità egemonica di Sparta, della fine di ogni possibile egemonia, con la loro azione contro Corinto, con la loro ambizione, nascosta già dietro il rifiuto dell'egemonia complementare: il progetto dell'egemonia duale poteva realizzarsi come unico modo per ripristinare un sistema di ordine in Grecia, ma fallisce, definitivamente, con la pace separata.

6. CONCLUSIONI: PARABOLA STORICA DI FLIUNTE E FALLIMENTO DELL'EGEMONIA

In questo modo, i frammenti di storia fliasica inseriti nelle *Elleniche* e, soprattutto, le tre sezioni principali (vicenda degli esuli e assedio della città da parte di Agesilao, discorsi di Procle per la stipulazione dell'alleanza Sparta-Atene, *excursus* del VII libro), trovano una unità, fin dall'esordio in cui Senofonte presenta l'azione di Fliunte, quando egli dice che alla battaglia del fiume Nemea manca il contingente fliasio, senza aggiungere i reali motivi dell'assenza; poi, l'attacco di Ificrate, che dimostra la necessità, per Fliunte, dell'aiuto spartano e, dopo la Pace di Antalcida, l'intervento di Agesilao con l'assedio e la resa della città, che Senofonte descrive senza impiegare toni negativi verso gli assediati o toni trionfali verso Agesilao⁸⁰ ma, comunque, mostrando la *ratio* dell'intervento armato da parte del re, la necessità che gli Spartani hanno di avere al fianco alleati come i Fliasii che combattano insieme con loro. Insomma, c'è un motivo di superiore necessità che giustifica l'intervento

⁷⁹ Non era la prima volta che Atene si mostrava interessata a prendere il controllo della città: Ificrate aveva tentato anch'egli di impadronirsi di Corinto nel 393 a.C. (D.S. XIV 92.2). Cfr. anche G.T. GRIFFITH, *art. cit.* (n. 51), p. 252; W.E. THOMPSON, *The Stasis at Corinth* (n. 51), p. 162-164.

⁸⁰ Cfr. E. LANZILLOTTA, *art. cit.* (n. 29), p. 145-146.

di Agesilao (oltre che, beninteso, il soccorso ai propri φίλοι), e che egli mette in luce, agli occhi dei suoi uomini, con lo stratagemma di creare un corpo di cittadini fliasii che partecipano ai sissizi e agli esercizi ginnici. Questo motivo, la necessità che l'alleata combatta al fianco della *polis* egemone, torna, ben illustrato, nel primo discorso di Procle; in questo e nel successivo discorso emerge anche la necessità dell'intervento ateniese al fianco degli Spartani contro il nemico comune, un intervento di cui hanno bisogno anche le alleate minori, come Fliunte e Corinto, incalzate dal pericolo. L'assemblea ateniese accetta ma, durante il secondo e conclusivo incontro per la stipulazione dell'alleanza, qualche ombra già mina il quadro perfetto dell'egemonia duale — delineatosi nel corso della discussione, in cui gli ambiti separati di terra per Sparta e di mare per Atene, θεία φύσει τε καὶ τύχη⁸¹, se accettati dalle due città egemoni, preserverebbero dallo scontrarsi e indebolirsi reciproco — e ne smorzerebbe l'efficacia: l'intervento dell'oratore Cefisodoto rinfocola, seppur velatamente, le ambizioni di primazia ateniesi e il disegno dell'egemonia divisa per sfere d'influenza viene bocciato.

L'*excursus* del VII libro è l'applicazione del pensiero esposto da Procle nel suo primo discorso, cioè il ritorno ad una rigorosa fedeltà a Sparta e alla strenua resistenza al nemico da parte di Fliunte e delle *poleis* vicine alleate di Sparta; questa lunga resistenza si conclude quando Atene torna a perseguire ambizioni personali, minacciando l'autonomia di Corinto: a quel punto, a queste città, stremate, non resta che abbandonare la guerra, che declina verso una crescente confusione.

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⁸¹ Xen., *HG* VII 1.2.

MITO E STORIA NELLA ΧΡΟΝΙΚΗ ΣΥΝΤΑΞΙΣ DI ZENONE DI RODI: OSSERVAZIONI SU STRABONE XIV 2.5-12

Abstract: This contribution analyses Strabo's debt to the Rhodian historian Zeno: from Zeno he drew the material to celebrate Rhodes' political institutions and its policy towards Roman power and the Hellenistic monarchies (XIV 2.5); from this historian he drew also a great amount of information about the role of Rhodes in Greek mythology and in archaic times (XIV 2.6-12). According to the author the comparison between Strabo and other sources on Zeno's historical work (Polybius, Diodorus and the so-called *Lindian Chronicle*) allows us to improve our general knowledge on this historian. We can insert Zeno in the context of Rhodian local historiography between the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, a kind of historiography overstepping the limits of local history and dealing with general events of the Hellenistic period.

1. Il lavoro di H.-U. Wiemer sulle tradizioni rodie nella storiografia ellenistica (2001)¹ si sofferma sull'influenza che la storiografia rodia (in particolare la χρονική σύνταξις di Zenone²) potrebbe aver esercitato sia sulle parti delle *Storie* di Polibio relative alla storia dell'isola tra la fine del III e il primo trentennio del II sec. a.C., sia su alcuni luoghi della *Biblioteca storica* di Diodoro Siculo³.

Il Wiemer individua in particolare nel racconto polibiano relativo alle vicende di Rodi tre costanti: (1) il rodiocentrismo e in generale la tendenza ad assumere un punto di vista interno alla politica rodia; (2) la tendenza a celebrare «lo stato e la politica dei Rodii»; (3) la tendenza apologetica volta a giustificare le scelte di politica internazionale che

¹ H.-U. WIEMER, *Rhodische Traditionen in der hellenistischen Historiographie*, Frankfurt am Main 2001.

² L'opera di Zenone è citata con questo titolo nella cosiddetta *Cronaca di Atena lindia* (su cui ci soffermeremo più avanti): secondo Chr. BLINKENBERG, *La Chronique du temple lindien*, ODV 5-6 (1912), p. 424, con il quale è d'accordo D. LENFANT, *Polybe et les «fragments» des historiens de Rhodes Zénon et Antisthène* (XVI, 14-20), in G. SCHEPENS – J. BOLLANSÉE (a cura di), *The Shadow of Polybius. Intertextuality as a Research Tool in Greek Historiography*, Leuven-Paris-Dudley 2005, p. 183 n. 1, si tratta di un titolo fittizio largamente adoperato da Timachidas e Tharsagoras (estensori della *Cronaca*) per designare le opere consultate nel redigere il testo iscritto poi su pietra. I frammenti di Zenone sono raccolti da Jacoby in *FGrHist* 523. Secondo Diogene Laerzio VII 35 (= Zenone, *FGrHist* 523 T1) l'opera di Zenone era una ἐντόπιος ἱστορία.

³ Cfr. in proposito H.-U. WIEMER, *Rhodische Traditionen* (n. 1), p. 261-262; sull'apporto di Zenone alla narrazione di Polibio cfr. anche le considerazioni di H. ULLRICH, *De Polybii fontibus Rhodiis*, Diss. Leipzig 1898, p. 10-15.

caratterizzarono i rapporti tra Roma a Rodi tra la seconda e la terza guerra macedonica, all'incirca durante il primo trentennio del II secolo.

Riprendendo, approfondendo e ampliando le conclusioni cui è giunta nell'ultimo secolo la moderna ricerca sulla storiografia rodia a partire da H. Ullrich⁴, Wiemer ipotizza che l'apporto prevalente al racconto polibiano su Rodi provenga proprio da Zenone. È noto che Polibio, all'interno di un celebre *excursus* (XVI, 14-20), si soffermò sulle caratteristiche delle opere storiche di Zenone e del concittadino Antistene. Il Megalopolitano ne criticò, seppure più blandamente di quanto faccia con altri storici, gli errori (scusabili) dovuti a ignoranza (ἄγνοια), oppure imputabili a eccessivo amor di patria⁵; ma in particolare Polibio rimproverò a Zenone l'esagerata attenzione rivolta agli aspetti formali piuttosto che alla vera e propria «ricerca dei fatti» (τῶν πραγμάτων ζήτησις) e alla «trattazione della materia» (χειρισμὸς τῆς ὑποθέσεως).

2. Come rilevato sopra, quanto detto fin qui è ampiamente dibattuto nella letteratura moderna⁶. Alla luce delle ricerche moderne (di Ullrich e di Wiemer in particolare) credo però che sia possibile procedere ulteriormente nell'indagine sulla storiografia rodia di epoca ellenistica e nella fattispecie sulla figura di Zenone.

Partiamo da un passo del libro XIV della *Geografia* di Strabone posto all'inizio della sezione relativa all'isola di Rodi⁷:

Ἡ δὲ τῶν Ῥοδίων πόλις κεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑωθινοῦ ἀκρωτηρίου, λιμέσι δὲ καὶ ὁδοῖς καὶ τείχεσι καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ τοσοῦτον διαφέρει τῶν ἄλλων ὥστ' οὐκ ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν ἑτέραν ἄλλ' οὐδὲ πάρισον, μή τί γε κρεῖττω αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως. θαυμαστή δὲ καὶ ἡ εὐνομία καὶ ἡ ἐπιμέλεια πρὸς τε τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ ναυτικά, ἃφ' ἧς ἑθαλατοκράτησε πολὺν χρόνον καὶ τὰ ληστήρια καθεῖλε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο φίλη καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τοῖς φιλορωμαίοις τε καὶ φιλέλλησιν· ἃφ' ὧν αὐτόνομός τε διε-

⁴ H. ULLRICH, *De Polybii fontibus*; cfr. le considerazioni dello stesso H.-U. WIEMER, *Rhodische Traditionen* (n. 1), p. 11-18.

⁵ Polibio XVI 14: cfr. F.W. WALBANK, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, II, Oxford 1967, p. 519 (*ad l.*).

⁶ Cfr. per esempio le osservazioni generali di K. ABEL, s.v. *Zenon*, in *RE* XA (1972), col. 138-140; G.A. LEHMANN, *Das neue Kölner Historiker-Fragment (P. Köln 247) und die χρονική σύνταξις des Zenon von Rhodos*, *ZPE* 72 (1988), p. 1-17; P. FUNKE, *Χρονικά συντάξεις και ιστορία. Die rhodische Historiographie in hellenistischer Zeit*, *Klio* 76 (1994), p. 255-262 e di recente cfr. D. LENFANT, *Polybe et les «fragments»* (n. 2), p. 183-204.

⁷ Strabone XIV 2.5. La sezione straboniana su Rodi è a XIV 2.5-13.

τέλεσε καὶ πολλοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐκοσμήθη, ἃ κεῖται τὰ μὲν
 πλεῖστα ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ καὶ τῷ γυμνασίῳ, ἄλλα δ' ἐν ἄλλοις
 τόποις. ἄριστα δὲ ὁ τε τοῦ Ἥλιου κολοσσός.

Rodi viene lodata per le ricchezze urbanistiche di cui gode («porti, strade, mura»), tali da renderla superiore a tutte le altre πόλεις. Nel contempo Strabone esalta Rodi per il suo ordinamento costituzionale (definito mirabile) che garantisce all'isola una retta amministrazione, in specie per quanto riguarda le risorse legate alla marineria. Da tutto ciò l'isola trasse la forza per detenere per lungo tempo il «dominio dei mari», per sconfiggere i pirati e divenire «amica» — vale a dire instaurare buoni rapporti politico-diplomatici — dei Romani e di quelli «fra i βασιλεῖς» che erano «sia filoromani, sia filelleni» (Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο φίλη καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τοῖς φιλορωμαίοις τε καὶ φιλέλλησιν). Secondo Strabone (e la sua fonte) in ragione di tutte le qualità sopra citate Rodi conservò a lungo l'*autonomia* e con essa godette di un tale prestigio da essere destinataria di numerosi donativi che vennero collocati in genere nel tempio di Dioniso e nel ginnasio⁸: tra i donativi viene menzionato anzitutto il cosiddetto Colosso, a proposito del quale non si manca di affermare che era una delle sette meraviglie del mondo. Dopo di ciò il Geografo fa cenno ad altre offerte, in specie alle pitture del celebre artista Protogene: la descrizione delle opere pittoriche di Protogene non è essenziale per il nostro discorso ed è stata omessa nel testo di Strabone riportato sopra.

Riassumendo: nella prima parte di XIV 2.5 trovano spazio le lodi alla ricchezza urbanistica di Rodi, l'esaltazione — in termini in verità assai generici — dell'ordinamento istituzionale rodio; inoltre viene fatto cenno ai vantaggi di tale ordinamento, sia in termini politici (la talassocrazia grazie a cui i Rodii sconfissero i pirati; la φιλία con Roma e con alcuni sovrani ellenistici; l'*autonomia*), sia in termini di ricchezza materiale (i ricchi donativi che l'isola ricevette).

Dopo tutto ciò si procede con la descrizione di una «liturgia» vigente nell'isola. Lo scopo di tale descrizione sarebbe quello di testimoniare la bontà del sistema rodio:

(...) δημοκηδεῖς δ' εἰσὶν οἱ Ῥόδιοι καίπερ οὐ δημοκρατούμενοι,
 συνέχειν δ' ὅμως βουλόμενοι τὸ τῶν πενήτων πλῆθος. σιταρχεῖται
 δὴ ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ εὖποιοι τοὺς ἐνδεεῖς ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἔθει τινί

⁸ Sul tempio di Dioniso a Rodi cfr. D. MORELLI, *I culti in Rodi*, Pisa 1959 (= *Studi Classici e Orientali* 8), p. 122-125.

πατρίῳ, λειτουργίαι τέ τινές εἰσιν ὁψωνιαζόμενοι, ὥσθ' ἅμα τὸν
τε πένητα ἔχειν τὴν διατροφὴν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῶν χρειῶν μὴ
καθυστερεῖν καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τὰς ναυστολίας.

Anche se l'ordinamento rodio non è democratico in senso stretto, i Rodii vengono definiti da Strabone (o dalla sua fonte) δημοκηδεῖς, ovvero «penserosi per il δῆμος», attenti alle esigenze e ai bisogni del δῆμος, al punto da sostenere «volontariamente» (βουλόμενοι) τὸ τῶν πενήτων πλῆθος, «la massa dei poveri».

A suffragare tale affermazione Strabone descrive un'antica λειτουργία rodia secondo cui i ricchi (οἱ εὐποροὶ) fornirebbero il sostentamento ai poveri che in cambio provvederebbero alle necessità materiali della polis, in particolare per quel che riguarda la flotta (μάλιστα πρὸς τὰς ναυστολίας).

L'affermazione di Strabone pone alcuni problemi. Anzitutto c'è un problema di natura testuale legato al participio al maschile ὁψωνιαζόμενοι che difficilmente si può concordare con il sostantivo femminile λειτουργίαι⁹. In secondo luogo c'è la necessità di spiegare le misure «liturgiche» evocate dal testo di Strabone. In proposito rimane imprescindibile il contributo di L. Migeotte (1989) che illustra e chiarisce il *welfare* rodio.

In terzo luogo gli studi moderni si sono soffermati sul senso da dare alla concessiva καίπερ οὐ δημοκρατούμενοι. In particolare pare assodato, a partire da uno studio di A. Wilhelm del 1941, che il participio οὐ δημοκρατούμενοι sia da intendere in senso tecnico-istituzionale: Strabone affermerebbe che i Rodii sarebbero «non retti secondo un regime di δημοκρατία»; andrebbe perciò escluso che δημοκρατούμε-

⁹ Su tali problematiche cfr. l'esaustiva trattazione di L. MIGEOTTE, *Démocratie et entretien du peuple à Rhodes d'après Strabon*, XIV, 2, 5, REG 102 (1989), p. 515-517. In conseguenza dei problemi legati al participio pare difficile anche determinare il significato di ὁψωνιαζόμενοι, tradotto in genere secondo la diatesi attiva: cfr. per esempio la traduzione di H.L. JONES in *The Geography of Strabo*. Vol. VI, Cambridge (Mass.) 1960, p. 271: «there are certain liturgies that supply provisions»; cfr. anche gli altri esempi riportati da L. MIGEOTTE, *Démocratie*, p. 517 che propone di risolvere tale aporia ipotizzando una lacuna che «devait évoquer le travail fourni par les petits gens en échange de leur entretien par la cité». Di recente S. Radt ha così ricostruito il testo straboniano οἱ εὐποροὶ τοὺς ἐνδεεῖς ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἔχειν τινὶ πατρίῳ, λειτουργίαι τέ τινές εἰσιν ὁψωνιασμοῦ, ὥσθε κτλ e ne ha dato la seguente traduzione: «unterstützen die Wohlhabenden nach einem althergebrachten Brauch die Bedürftigen und gibt es bestimmte Unterhaltsauflagen, so dass ...».

voi significhi qualcosa come «tiraneggiati dal popolo», «alla mercé del δῆμος»¹⁰.

Ciò ha ingenerato un dibattito intorno alla forma di governo vigente a Rodi: si è discusso cioè se fossero prevalenti gli elementi di «democrazia» o di «oligarchia» all'interno del sistema istituzionale rodio nel suo concreto funzionamento, quale emerge in particolare dalle notizie di Polibio e Livio¹¹.

In questa sede ci soffermeremo tuttavia su una problematica che è stata affrontata solo cursoriamente finora, ovvero l'identità della fonte da cui Strabone ricavò le notizie sulla politica estera di equilibrio praticata dall'isola nei confronti dei Romani e dei sovrani greco-macedoni, sull'ordinamento istituzionale rodio e sulla misura «liturgica» descritta poco sopra, finalizzata ad attutire le differenze socio-economiche tra εὔποροι ed ἐνδεδεῖς.

Finora il nome che sembra aver prevalso tra gli studiosi moderni è quello di Posidonio¹². In realtà credo che si possa proporre un'alternativa allo storico/filosofo di Apamea. Penserei infatti che lo stesso Zenone di Rodi possa essere indicato come «autore» di Strabone non solo per il capitolo appena visto (XIV 2.5), ma anche per quasi tutta la sezione dedicata all'isola di Rodi (XIV 2.5-13).

Iniziamo con l'indicare i punti del testo straboniano di XIV 2.5 che sembrano far pensare che l'«autore» di Strabone fosse Zenone, soffermandoci in particolare sugli aspetti in comune tra la descrizione straboniana e la trattazione che sulla storia rodia offre Polibio. È noto infatti che a partire dalle ricerche di Ullrich la letteratura moderna ha visto, con buoni argomenti, nelle pagine rodie del Megalopolitano l'influsso della storia rodiocentrica di Zenone.

¹⁰ A. WILHELM, *Strabon über die Rhodier*, *RhMus* 90 (1941), p. 161-167.

¹¹ Cfr. in proposito J.L. O'NEIL, *How Democratic was Hellenistic Rhodes?*, *Athenaeum* 59 (1981), p. 468-473. In generale sulle istituzioni politiche rodie cfr. N.F. JONES, *Public Organization in Ancient Greece. A Documentary Study*, Philadelphia 1987, p. 242-252.

¹² Cfr. R. MUNZ, *Quellenkritische Untersuchungen zu Strabo's Geographie*, Bâle 1918, p. 46 n. 2; G. RUDBERG, *Forschungen zu Poseidonios*, Uppsala-Leipzig 1918, p. 290; W. THEILER, *Poseidonios. Die Fragmente*, II, Berlin 1982, p. 369; J. MALITZ, *Die Historien des Poseidonios*, München 1983, p. 16; L. MIGEOTTE, *Démocratie* (n. 9), p. 523 nt. 28. Va inoltre precisato che in riferimento al solo par. 10 relativo alla colonizzazione rodia in Occidente è stato fatto il nome di Timostene (F. LASSERRE, *Strabon. Géographie. Livres III et IV*, Paris 1966, p. 197), così come è stata fatta menzione di Ergia, Polizelo e dello stesso Zenone (M.J. PENA, *ΕΠΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ. Encore sur la colonisation rhodienne de Rhodé*, *ZPE* 133 [2000], p. 111).

(a) Anzitutto un rilievo stilistico. L'aggettivo δημοκηδεῖς (al singolare δημοκηδής) è assai raro. Come nome proprio di persona Δημοκήδης appare riferito al famoso medico crotoniate Democede di cui parla largamente Erodoto nel libro III delle *Storie*. Inoltre, secondo quel che ho potuto appurare, nella forma aggettivale (δημοκηδής, ἐς) esso compare negli autori greci di epoca tardo-repubblicana e imperiale per spiegare l'etimologia del celebre *cognomen* Publicola di Publio Valerio¹³. Pertanto l'uso al plurale dell'aggettivo in Strabone in riferimento a una popolazione è di fatto un *unicum* cui forse non si è prestata la dovuta attenzione.

Vale la pena rammentare che Polibio, nel corso del suo ben noto *excursus* su Zenone e sulle sue «colpe» di storico non mancava di osservare che al Rodio bisognava rimproverare non tanto la tendenza al «patriottismo locale», né gli errori tecnici dovuti a ignoranza (di cui il Megalopolitano portava a esempio la mancanza di conoscenze sulla topografia del Peloponneso e le errate informazioni sulla battaglia di Lade¹⁴), quanto la tendenza all'abbellimento stilistico¹⁵. Secondo Polibio infatti Zenone aveva preferito la λέξεως κατασκευή (la ricercatezza nella parola o nello stile) alla πραγμάτων ζήτησις e al χειρισμὸς τῆς ὑποθέσεως¹⁶.

Un termine «ricercato» come δημοκηδής, ἐς può dunque essere spia dell'uso da parte di Strabone di un autore assai attento agli aspetti formali quale Zenone sembra essere stato secondo Polibio. Tra altro l'aggettivo δημοκηδής, ἐς può anche illuminare il senso da attribuire al participio δημοκρατούμενοι. Come si è accennato sopra, il termine può essere inteso o in senso tecnico («i Rodii non sono retti secondo un sistema democratico») o in senso letterale («i Rodii non sono alla mercé del popolo, non sono dominati dal popolo»). Ora, piuttosto che adottare in modo esclusivo l'una o l'altra opzione, conviene forse tentare una via mediana. Il participio, come già rilevava il Wilhelm, ha chiaramente, a un primo livello, una valenza tecnico-istituzionale; e tuttavia, posto accanto al termine «raro» δημοκηδεῖς, δημοκρατούμενοι presuppone anche un «sotterraneo» gioco di parole basato sul senso letterale del verbo δημοκρατεῖσθαι: i Rodii, secondo la fonte di Strabone, sarebbero «pensosi per il popolo» anche se non «soggiogati al popolo».

¹³ Dionigi di Alicarnasso, *AR* V 19.5; Plutarco, *Publ.* 10.9; Cassio Dione XXXVII 6.

¹⁴ POLIBIO XVI 15.1-17.7: cfr. F.W. WALBANK, *Historical Commentary* (n. 5), II, p. 519-522 (*ad l.*).

¹⁵ Cfr. D. LENFANT, *Polybe et les «fragments»* (n. 2), p. 193-200.

¹⁶ Polibio XVI 17.8: F.W. WALBANK, *Historical Commentary* (n. 5), II, p. 522 (*ad l.*).

(b) In secondo luogo bisogna fare qualche osservazione sull'impostazione ideologica che emerge dalle parole di Strabone sull'ordinamento politico rodio. Sofferamoci prima di tutto sul riferimento di Strabone all' «amicizia» che i Rodii, grazie all'*eunomia* del loro ordinamento, seppero contrarre con Roma e con quei βασιλεῖς che erano insieme filo-romani e filelleni¹⁷.

Si tratta di un'osservazione che credo si possa mettere in relazione con quel che afferma Polibio sulla politica estera rodia tra III sec. e primo trentennio del II sec. a.C. Il tema dell'equidistanza di Rodi rispetto a Roma e alle monarchie greco-macedoni, tema appena accennato in Strabone, trova infatti esplicita formulazione in ciò che Polibio racconta sugli eventi posteriori alla battaglia di Pidna, quando la classe dirigente rodia tentò per la prima volta di stringere una vera e propria alleanza con Roma. Afferma il Megalopolitano che in quell'occasione i Rodii vennero meno alla politica che li aveva caratterizzati «per quasi 150 anni», una politica definita «pragmatica», attenta a non rompere le relazioni diplomatiche con «nessun personaggio rilevante politicamente o dotato di potere dinastico» (μηδὲνα τῶν ἐν ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς καὶ δυναστείαις)¹⁸. Lo stesso Polibio altrove esprime in prima persona ammirazione per la politica che a lungo i Rodii tentarono di attuare: in occasione del conflitto rodio-cretese alla fine del III secolo lo storico narra che la maggior parte degli Achei parteggiava per Rodi «rispettando sia la dignità della città, sia la politica generale dello stato e degli uomini»¹⁹.

¹⁷ Strabone XIV 2.5: θαυμαστὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ εὐνομία καὶ ἡ ἐπιμέλεια πρὸς τε τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ ναυτικά, ἀφ' ἧς ἐθαλαττοκράτησε πολὺν χρόνον καὶ τὰ ληστήρια καθεῖλε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο φίλη καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τοῖς φιλορωμαίοις τε καὶ φιλέλλησιν.

¹⁸ Polibio XXX 5.6-10 (primo tentativo di Teedeto e Rodofonte): cfr. F.W. WALBANK, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, III, Oxford 1979, p. 423-426 (ad l.); XXX 23 (secondo tentativo del legato rodio Aristotele); XXX 31 (terzo tentativo, coronato da successo, di Astimede): F.W. WALBANK, *Historical Commentary*, III, p. 456-461 (ad l.) e J. THORNTON, in *Polibio. Storie (libri XXVIII-XXXIII)*. A cura di D. Musti. *Note di J. Thornton*, Milano 2005, p. 370-377 (ad l.). In generale cfr. H.H. SCHMITT, *Rom und Rhodos. Geschichte ihrer politischen Beziehungen seit der ersten Berührung bis zum Aufgehen des Inselstaates im römischen Weltreich*, München 1957, p. 161-172.

¹⁹ Polibio XXXIII 16.3 (trad. italiana di M. MARI in *Polibio. Storie (libri XXVIII-XXXIII)* [n. 18]): cfr. J. THORNTON in *Polibio. Storie (libri XXVIII-XXXIII)*, p. 454 n. 3 (ad l.). Va precisato che l'elogio polibiano nei riguardi dell'ordinamento istituzionale rodio non viene affatto sminuito o attutito dalle critiche immediatamente successive all'illogicità e irrazionalità di cui diedero prova i Rodii una volta visto che gli sforzi prodotti non avevano portato ad alcun risultato (XXXIII 17).

(c) Continuiamo a fare riferimento ai sovrani «filoromani e filelleni» con cui Rodi intrattenne rapporti diplomatici. Strabone definisce i sovrani con cui Rodi intrattenne rapporti di cordialità diplomatica con la seguente espressione: τῶν βασιλέων οἱ φιλορώμαιοί τε καὶ φιλέλληνες. La fonte di Strabone sembra dunque rimarcare che, anche per le relazioni con le monarchie greco-macedoni, Rodi intese sempre privilegiare l'asse di «amicizia» con Roma e nel contempo intese rappresentare la propria politica estera come autenticamente filellena.

Occupiamoci anzitutto del cenno di Strabone al filoromanesimo. Questo aspetto della politica estera rodia sottolineato dalla fonte del Geografo si può mettere in relazione con i numerosi cenni di Polibio all'atteggiamento favorevole agli interessi romani adottato dalla gran parte della classe dirigente rodia già in occasione della seconda guerra macedonica e mantenuto in seguito anche in occasione della terza guerra macedonica²⁰. Nel complesso è possibile affermare che la fonte rodia di Polibio tende a far emergere costantemente come i Rodii fossero del tutto consapevoli dell'importanza fondamentale che l'«amicizia» con Roma aveva per l'isola e per il suo ruolo nell'ambito dei commerci nel Mediterraneo²¹.

²⁰ Polibio XVI 35.2 (durante la seconda guerra macedonica i Rodii si rifiutarono di trattare con Filippo V dopo la presa di Abido e manifestarono invece la propria ferma volontà di privilegiare su tutto la *philia* con i Romani: cfr. H.H. SCHMITT, *Rom und Rhodos* [n. 18], p. 67). Per quanto riguarda la politica rodia durante la terza guerra macedonica cfr. soprattutto Polibio XXVII 3 (dove si afferma che già dinanzi al profilarsi dello scontro con Perseo una parte consistente della classe dirigente rodia si propose di serbare un rapporto privilegiato coi Romani: in particolare il pritano Agesiloco fu quello che tra i Rodii nel 171 ca., poco prima dello scoppio del conflitto, si impegnò di più per venire incontro ai *desiderata* romani) e XXVII 7 e 14 e XXVIII 2 (dove la responsabilità per l'ambigua condotta rodia durante la terza guerra macedonica è attribuita alle trame di C. Lucrezio Gallo e soprattutto a Dinone e Poliarato, oppositori a Rodi dei filoromani Agatageto, Rodofonte, Astimede, Nicagora, Nicandro).

Sempre in tema di terza guerra macedonica vanno segnalati altri passi polibiani in cui è evidente la volontà di scagionare i Rodii dall'accusa di parteggiare per Perseo: XXX 6-9 (dove compare un'interessantissima disamina di Polibio in merito alle tre categorie di coloro che nelle *poleis* greche della madrepatria e d'Asia minore parteggiarono, a diverso livello, per l'antigonide Perseo contro gli interessi romani: ai capitoli 8-9 c'è in particolare una lunga descrizione delle vicende relative ai rodii Dinone e Poliarato); XXX 31.13-14 (dove si ribadisce che la responsabilità della condotta di Rodi ricade non su tutto il popolo, ma su pochi esponenti peraltro già duramente puniti per le proprie malefatte); cfr. anche Polibio XXVII 4.9-10 laddove la tendenza a rappresentare i Rodii come attenti a evitare ogni attrito diplomatico con Roma pare presupporre, *a posteriori*, le difficoltà successive alla battaglia di Pidna. In generale su questo periodo e sulla politica rodia (divisa in due partiti: il filo-macedone e il filo-romano) rimane fondamentale H.H. SCHMITT, *Rom und Rhodos*, p. 139-150.

²¹ Il legato rodio Astimede affermò esplicitamente (dopo il 167 a.C.) dinanzi al senato romano che Rodi non aveva tanto bisogno della stipula di un'allenanza formale con Roma;

(d) Torniamo al riferimento contenuto in Strabone XIV 5.2 ai re «filo-romani e filelleni». La cura nel cercare il legame con sovrani filelleni e in generale il perseguimento di una politica filellena è senz'altro un aspetto importante della politica rodia tra III e II sec. a.C. Ancora una volta la rappresentazione della politica rodia offerta dalla fonte di Strabone trova una corrispondenza nel racconto di Polibio. Basti pensare al discorso con cui, secondo il Megalopolitano, i legati rodii risposero alle accuse di Eumene II durante un dibattito in senato svoltosi nel 189 ca., all'indomani della vittoria romana su Antioco III il Grande²². In quell'occasione i legati dell'isola tentarono di suggerire a Roma l'adozione della medesima linea «morbida» assunta in Grecia all'indomani di Cinoscefale.

Inoltre il carattere filellenico della politica rodia trova risalto soprattutto laddove Polibio descrive il modo in cui la classe dirigente dell'isola intese giustificarsi dopo Pidna rappresentando le proprie scelte politiche di fronte al conflitto tra Roma e Perseo come dettate dalle esigenze di una politica filellena, volta anzitutto al bene della grecità e, per conseguenza, di Roma medesima²³.

(e) Altri elementi fanno pensare che si può accostare la fonte «rodia» di Strabone alla fonte cui Polibio attinge per le notizie su Rodi (identificata, nella letteratura moderna, con Zenone). Da Polibio veniamo a sapere che Zenone, come anche il compatriota Antistene, era un uomo

per l'isola era necessario piuttosto che fosse a tutti evidente (συμφανές) che i Romani non nutrivano alcuna ostilità nei confronti di Rodi. Cfr. in proposito Polibio XXX 31.10-11: καταλέλνται γὰρ ἡ τοῦ λιμένος πρόσσδος ὑμῶν, Δήλον μὲν ἀτελῆ πεποιηκότων, ἀφηρημένων δὲ τὴν τοῦ δήμου παρρησίαν, δι' ἧς καὶ <τὰ> κατὰ τὸν λιμένα καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα τῆς πόλεως ἐτύγχανε τῆς ἁρμοζούσης προστασίας; e 17-18: ἵνα γένηται τοῦτο συμφανές ἅπασιν ὅτι τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν ἀποτέθεισθε τὴν πρὸς Ῥοδίους, ἀνακεχωρήκατε δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς αἴρεσιν καὶ φιλίαν. τοῦτου γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχει νῦν ὁ δῆμος, οὗ τῆς διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν συμμαχίας. Cfr. H.H. SCHMITT, *Rom und Rhodos* [n. 18], p. 161-172.

²² Il discorso dei Rodii è in Polibio XXI 22.5-23.13: in particolare cfr. i capitoli 22.7 e soprattutto 23.10-12. È importante sottolineare che secondo Polibio sembrò a «tutti» che i Rodii avessero parlato μετρίως καὶ καλῶς. Sul precedente discorso di Eumene II cfr. C. KOEHN, *Die Eumenes rede (Polybios XXI 19-21) und die Neuordnung Kleinasien 189/188 v.Chr.*, *Hermes* 135 (2007), p. 263-285.

²³ Polibio XXIX 19.3-6: discorso tenuto dal rodio Agepolide subito dopo la battaglia di Pidna e risposta del senato romano. Una prospettiva filellenica e, in certo senso, «cittadina» sembra emergere anche dalla lunga digressione di Polibio V 88-90 sul terremoto di Rodi intorno al 227 e sugli atti evergetici di cui diedero prova i βασιλεῖς dell'epoca: la lunga sezione dedicata alla registrazione epigrafica dei doni giunti a Rodi dal mondo greco (su cui cfr. le osservazioni di H. ULLRICH, *De fontibus* [n. 3], p. 28 e F.W. WALBANK *ad l.*) risulta interamente incentrata sul principio della solidarietà ellenica e interpoliadica e sull'ideologia dell'evergetismo come pratica per conseguire gloria e, tramite essa, consenso e vantaggi politici.

politico impegnato in prima persona all'interno delle istituzioni rodie. Secondo lo storico di Megalopoli ciò costituiva un elemento di debolezza della narrazione di Zenone e Antistene, indotti per i loro interessi di parte a forzare tono e contenuti della loro narrazione storica. E in effetti va notato che i passi su Rodi presenti in Polibio (per i quali il Wiemer ha chiamato in causa convincentemente il nome di Zenone) sembrano farsi portavoce di un punto di vista interno alla politica rodia e risultano basati su una fonte attenta e informata sulle vicende dell'isola²⁴.

Una volta osservato ciò, si può notare che una simile attenzione per la vita politica rodia si riscontra, seppure in misura più ridotta, anche nel brano straboniano relativo alla *politeia* dell'isola (XIV 2.5). La bontà del sistema politico rodio viene esaltata non da un mero punto di vista morale, ma per i vantaggi che esso arreca all'isola: dall'*eunomia* rodia derivano in primo luogo la talassocrazia esercitata lungamente e la *philia* con Roma e con «i sovrani filoromani e filelleni», in secondo luogo l'*autonomia* dell'isola e l'enorme prestigio di cui lo stato rodio godette nel Mediterraneo e di cui segni tangibili sono i *πολλὰ ἀναθήματα*. Dopo tali considerazioni relative all'assetto istituzionale dei Rodii, Strabone espone una

²⁴ Tra i passi polibiani che mostrano un punto di vista interno alla politica rodia si segnalano i seguenti: Polibio XXV 4-5, part. 5.1-3 (dove si descrive in breve il grande scompiglio che sorse tra i cittadini rodii nell'apprendere — da un'ambasceria ritornata da Roma — che il senato intendeva assegnare loro i Licii non più ἐν ὄρεῳ, così come si era stabilito a seguito della pace di Apamea, ma come semplici «amici e alleati»); XXVII 7 (dove si descrive il dibattito che ebbe luogo a Rodi quando si deliberò se inviare o meno le navi richieste dal pretore C. Lucrezio Gallo ai Rodii: in quell'occasione emerse una contrapposizione tra i filoromani Agatageto, Rodofonte e Astimede e i filomacedoni Dinone e Poliarato; notevole tra l'altro è anche il riferimento alla datazione locale dato proprio all'inizio del resoconto polibiano — «essendo pritano Stratocle per il secondo trimestre» — chiaro segno dell'uso da parte del Megalopolitano di una fonte rodia: per la datazione sulla pritanìa rodia cfr. K. CLARKE, *Making time for the Past. Local History and the Polis*, Oxford 2008, p. 111-118, che vede nel passo polibiano la testimonianza storiografica dell'esistenza di un calendario politico cittadino); XXVIII 16 (dove si fa riferimento a un'altra situazione di ἀντιπολιτεία a Rodi: la decisione dei Rodii, nell'imminenza della terza guerra macedonica, di inviare due ambascerie — una diretta a Roma, l'altra in Macedonia per incontrare il console Quinto Marcio — viene descritta secondo un'ottica interna alla classe dirigente rodia); XXVIII 17.1-9, part. 17.3 (dove si parla dell'abboccamento tra il rodio Agepolide e Quinto Marcio e si menziona il fatto che il console scrisse al δῆμος dell'isola); XXVIII 17.13 (dove si dice che Agepolide confidò ad «alcuni amici» il contenuto di un incarico conferitogli «privatamente» (κατ' ἰδίαν) dallo stesso Quinto Marcio); XXIX 10-11 (dove si descrive il momento campale in cui definitivamente prevalse a Rodi la posizione dei filomacedoni Dinone e Poliarato: si riferiscono infatti in maniera dettagliata umori e sentimenti sorti nei protagonisti della scena politica dell'isola).

misura concreta adottata dalla classe dirigente rodia, una misura «liturgica» finalizzata, come si è visto sopra, ad attutire le sperequazioni tra i ricchi e i poveri a tutto vantaggio della pace sociale e del benessere generale della *polis*.

Da tutto ciò si ricava che la fonte di Strabone pare adottare non un punto di vista etico o moralistico, bensì una prospettiva squisitamente storica e istituzionale. L'autore di Strabone prende in considerazione il funzionamento della *politeia* di Rodi e ne espone i vantaggi sia in termini politico-militari (la tallassocrazia; la vittoria militare sui pirati; l'*autonomia*; l'equidistanza rispetto alle potenze contemporanee; l'eliminazione di ogni conflittualità sociale), sia in termini materiali (buona gestione delle risorse cittadine, in specie di quelle legate alla marineria; prestigio internazionale cui conseguono ricchi donativi provenienti dall'esterno) e inserisce tali notazioni storico-istituzionali in un quadro celebrativo caratterizzato da filoromanesimo e filellenismo.

Si tratta di caratteristiche che combaciano in una certa misura con l'approccio della fonte cui attingeva Polibio per le notizie su Rodi. In tale fonte, secondo l'analisi di Wiemer, va riconosciuta l'opera storica di uomo politico (identificato appunto con Zenone) impegnato all'interno delle istituzioni rodie, estremamente consapevole del loro funzionamento e capace altresì di esprimere il proprio orientamento rodiocentrico e la propria ideologia filoromana e filellenica.

Prima di procedere oltre, proviamo a riassumere le osservazioni che si sono svolte sin qui. Ci sono notevoli punti di contatto (a livello di stile; a livello di ideologia politica; a livello di metodo e approccio storiografico) tra le considerazioni di Strabone contenute in XIV 2.5 e la fonte rodia — unanimemente ritenuta unitaria — da cui Polibio trae le molteplici e dettagliate notizie sulla storia dell'isola tra III e II secolo.

Si è detto più volte che la letteratura moderna ha identificato, probabilmente a ragione, tale fonte con lo storico Zenone più che con Antistene: è su Zenone infatti che si concentrano quasi esclusivamente le considerazioni critiche di Polibio, così come è sull'opera di Zenone che lo storico acheo si sofferma per esporre le proprie considerazioni di metodo storico²⁵.

Nel complesso, in ragione di tutto quanto si è visto sin qui, si può affermare che le caratteristiche dello storico Zenone — quali si desumono dal racconto di Polibio — sembrano adattarsi al tono e al contenuto del passo straboniano. I punti di contatto tra la fonte di Strabone e la fonte di Polibio

²⁵ Polibio XVI 14-15 (su Zenone e Antistene) e 16-20 (sul solo Zenone).

sono, riassumendo, i seguenti: le ricercatezze stilistiche e lessicali; l'esaltazione del ruolo politico di Rodi (da cui nasce la tendenza di Zenone a forzare i fatti in senso rodiocentrico); il punto di vista interno alla classe dirigente rodia (che è causa, secondo Polibio, delle inesattezze di Zenone).

3. Quanto esposto fin qui riguarda il par. 5, relativo alla *politeia* di Rodi. Come accennato prima però, non soltanto il paragrafo 5, ma quasi l'intera sezione rodia contenuta nella *Geografia* (XIV 2.5-13) potrebbe risalire all'opera storiografica di Zenone.

A tale proposito ci serviremo in particolare della testimonianza di Diodoro Siculo e della cosiddetta *Cronaca di Atena lindi* e, in un secondo momento, dei frammenti della storiografia rodia di epoca ellenistica raccolti e superbamente commentati da Felix Jacoby. Sia ben chiaro: l'obiettivo delle pagine che seguono è all'incirca analogo a quello di cui ho parlato a proposito di Polibio, cioè mettere in evidenza i punti di contatto tra la descrizione straboniana di Rodi e i passi attribuibili a Zenone contenuti nella *Biblioteca storica* e nella *Cronaca*. Le considerazioni che seguiranno permetteranno anche, *inter alia*, di meglio definire i caratteri dell'opera storica di Zenone.

Il più lungo dei frammenti di Zenone raccolti da F. Jacoby è tratto dal libro V della *Biblioteca storica* di Diodoro²⁶. Si tratta di un lungo *excursus* sulle origini mitiche dell'isola di Rodi, per il quale Diodoro cita esplicitamente Zenone come sua fonte all'interno di un non ben determinato gruppo di scrittori di *Antiquitates Rhodiae*²⁷.

Secondo lo storico di Agirio il nome dell'isola deriverebbe da Rhodos, figlia del dio Poseidone e di Alia, «sorella dei Telchini» che per primi colonizzarono l'isola²⁸. Ai Telchini (dotati di somma sapienza e non privi addirittura di poteri magici) Diodoro fa seguire la menzione dei sette Eliadi (i figli del dio Elio e di Rhodos), lodati da Diodoro per la loro sapienza (furono in particolare scopritori dell'astronomia): nella

²⁶ Diodoro V 55-59 = Zenone, *FGrHist* 523 F1: Zenone è menzionato esplicitamente a V 56.7 = *FGrHist* 523 T2.

²⁷ F. JACOBY in *FGrHist* IIIB Text (1955), p. 435 e in *FGrHist* IIIB Noten (1955), p. 256-257 nn. 13-14 e H.-U. WIEMER, *Rhodische Traditionen* [n. 1], p. 207 pensano che Diodoro abbia attinto al solo Zenone in merito alla mitologia rodia. D. LENFANT, *Polybe et les «fragments»* (n. 2), p. 202 pensa invece che Diodoro potrebbe aver messo a frutto la testimonianza di altri autori oltre a Zenone.

²⁸ Diodoro V 55.1 e 55.4.

fattispecie lo storico siciliano si sofferma sui figli di uno degli Eliadi, Cecafo, i cui nomi — Lindo, Ialiso e Camiro — furono poi applicati ai tre principali centri cittadini dell'isola. Segue la menzione dei viaggi che a Rodi fecero Danao e le sue figlie (che fondarono il tempio di Atena a Lindo)²⁹; Cadmo (che fondò un tempio per Poseidone e fece delle dediche al tempio di Atena di Lindo³⁰); Forbante (proveniente dalla Tessaglia e onorato come un eroe); Altamene (il quale, provenendo da Creta, fondò il tempio di Zeus Atabirio sul monte rodio Atabiro)³¹; e infine Tlepolemo (figlio di Eracle proveniente da Argo), che divenne «re di tutta l'isola» (βασιλεὺς πάσης τῆς νήσου) e divise tutto il territorio in lotti uguali³².

A XIV 5.6-13 anche Strabone presenta una lunga digressione sulle origini mitiche di Rodi. Per questa parte il Geografo pontico attinge a più autori (come mostrano i continui rinvii alle diverse opinioni circolanti in merito alla storia dell'isola): a tale proposito Jacoby fece convincentemente il nome di Apollodoro e del suo *Catalogo delle navi*, dal quale deriverebbero i molti riferimenti ai poemi omerici³³.

Oltre agli elementi «omerici», si possono notare in questa parte della trattazione straboniana anche numerosi punti di contatto con il brano diodoreo sopra riassunto. Per esempio il rinvio al cretese Altemene e a Tlepolemo, il rinvio ai Telchini e alla loro sapienza e abilità artigianale (a causa della quale incorsero nella malignità dei loro rivali), agli Eliadi, a Cercafo e alla moglie Cidippe (figlia di un altro degli Eliadi), ai loro figli Lindo, Ialiso e Camiro, a Danao e alle sue figlie³⁴.

Come accennato sopra, a differenza che nel paragrafo sulle istituzioni rodie (derivante probabilmente dalla stessa fonte cui attinge Polibio per le sue notizie su Rodi di III e II secolo), qui Strabone fa uso di più fonti. Jacoby aveva ragionevolmente individuato nel *Catalogo delle navi* di Apollodoro la fonte per i riferimenti «omerici» presenti nei parr. 6-8.

²⁹ Cfr. sulla fondazione del tempio di Atena lindia da parte delle Danaidi Erodoto II 182.

³⁰ In generale sul tempio di Atena a Lindo cfr. E. LIPPOLIS, *Il santuario di Athena a Lindo*, ASA 66-67 (1988-1989 [1993]), p. 97-157.

³¹ Sul culto di Zeus Atabirio cfr. D. MORELLI, *I culti* (n. 8), p. 138-141 (con riferimenti alle fonti antiche).

³² Cfr. l'ampia analisi del brano di Diodoro attribuibile a Zenone in H.-U. WIEMER, *Rhodische Traditionen* (n. 1), p. 207-218.

³³ Strabone XIV 2.6 e 2.10.

³⁴ Strabone XIV 2.6 (su Altemene e Tlepolemo); 7 (sui Telchini); 8 (sugli Eliadi, Cercafo e i suoi figli Lindo, Ialiso e Camiro); 11 (su Danao).

Jacoby aveva parlato anche di un *Encomio di Rodi* per il par. 10 dedicato alle fondazioni rodie in Occidente e aveva pensato al contributo di un *Periplo* per i parr. 11-12 relativi alla topografia dell'isola, non escludendo però l'intermediazione di un trattato rodio di *Ktiseis*³⁵.

Tuttavia accanto a questi possibili influssi (Jacoby fa anche, dubitativamente, il nome di Timeo), credo sia opportuno mettere in evidenza e valorizzare, nell'ambito della presente ricerca, i punti di contatto tra la digressione mitico-storica di Strabone e Diodoro V 55-59. Ciò mostra infatti che Strabone potrebbe forse aver consultato anche Zenone (menzionato *nominatim* nel libro V della *Biblioteca storica*) per i riferimenti ai Telchini, a Tlepolemo, agli Eliadi, agli eroi eponimi di Lindo, Ialiso e Camiro, anche se il Geografo abbinò sicuramente tale materiale proveniente da Zenone con altro materiale di carattere antiquario, topografico e, soprattutto, mitografico.

Ci sono altri elementi che fanno pensare che Zenone possa essere la fonte di Strabone anche per la parte erudita e antiquaria del suo *excursus* su Rodi, oltre che per quella imperniata sulla *politeia* rodia.

Come è noto l'esemplare più compiuto (e comunque il meglio conservato) della storiografia rodia è rappresentato dalla cosiddetta *Cronaca del tempio di Atena lindia*, risalente al 99 a.C. e contenente una lista dei donativi ricevuti dalla divinità nel corso dei secoli, dai tempi mitici al terzo secolo³⁶. A tale scopo Timachidas e Tharsagoras, incaricati dai *μαστροί* e dal *demos* dei Lindii di redigere il testo da incidere su pietra,

³⁵ F. JACOBY in *FGrHist IIIB Text* (1955), p. 452-453.

³⁶ Nell'immensa bibliografia concernente la *Cronaca lindia* fondamentali rimangono le edizioni che (in lingua francese e in lingua tedesca) ne fece Chr. BLINKENBERG: *Chronique* (n. 2), p. 317-457; *Die lindische Tempelchronik*, Bonn 1915; *Lindos. Fouilles de l'Acropole 1902-1914*, II 1 (*Les inscriptions*), Berlin-Kopenhagen 1941, p. 151-200 nr. 2 (= *I. Lindos* 2). Cfr. anche l'edizione di F. JACOBY in *FGrHist* 532 (*Anagraphe von Lindos – Timachidas von Rhodos*), con commento in *FGrHist IIIB Text* (1955), p. 444-451 e in *FGrHist IIIB Noten* (1955), p. 259-266, e i classici studi di H.G. BROECKER, *De Timachida scriptore Rhodio*, Diss. Berlin 1920; R. LAQUEUR, s.v. *Lokalchroniken*, in *RE* XIII (1927), col. 1083-1110, part. col. 1105-1109; K. ZIEGLER, s.v. *Timachidas*, in *RE* VIA (1936), col. 1052-1060. Di recente cfr. A. CHANIOTIS, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften. Epigraphische Beiträge zur griechischen Historiographie*, Wiesbaden 1988, T 13 p. 52-57 e H.-U. WIEMER, *Rhodische Traditionen* (n. 1), p. 27-32; C. HIGBIE, *The Lindian Chronicle and the Greek Creation of their Past*, Oxford 2003 (con ampia bibliografia); J. SHAYA, *The Greek Temple as Museum. The Case of the Legendary Treasure of Athena from Lyndos*, *AJA* 10 (2005), p. 423-442; N. MASSAR, *La «Chronique de Lindos»: un catalogue à la gloire du sanctuaire d'Athéna Lindia*, *Kernos* 19 (2006), p. 229-243; F.X. RYAN, *Breadth and Depth in the Account of the Dedications to Athena Lindia*, in B. VIRGILIO (a cura di), *Studi Ellenistici XX*, Pisa-Roma 2008, p. 455-470; K. CLARKE, *Making time* (n. 24), p. 321-325. Sul tempio di Atena a Lindo cfr. E. LIPPOLIS, *Il santuario* (n. 30).

si servirono delle ἐπιστολαί conservate dai sacerdoti del tempio di Atena, dei χρηματισμοί e di altre testimonianze provenienti dagli scritti storici e antiquarii composti da scrittori rodii e non rodii³⁷.

Zenone compare nella *Cronaca* due volte: una volta in riferimento a un donativo dello stesso *demos* rodio del 359/8 (al tempo di Artaserse III), un'altra in riferimento a un donativo dell'epirota Pirro (*ante* 272)³⁸. In particolare va notato che la seconda menzione della χρονική σύνταξις di Zenone (relativa alla piena età ellenistica) è ricavata dal secondo libro³⁹.

Le due citazioni di Zenone mostrano che lo storico di Rodi nutriva senza dubbio dell'interesse nei confronti del tempio di Lindo e specialmente nei riguardi dei donativi e delle dediche alla dea Atena. Ciò si riallaccia a quanto si era visto prima nel lungo frammento tratto dal libro V della *Biblioteca storica* diodorea, dove è evidente l'attenzione nei confronti della fondazione di templi e in generale nei confronti dell'elemento culturale⁴⁰. Nel brano riportato dallo storico di Agirio compaiono infatti riferimenti alla nascita di alcuni dei luoghi sacri più celebri dell'isola: anzitutto proprio il tempio di Atena Lindia, fondato secondo Diodoro/Zenone da Danao e dalle sue figlie provenienti dall'Egitto; c'è poi, poco dopo, un riferimento al tempio di Poseidone innalzato da Cadmo per essere scampato a una tempesta in mare; dello stesso Cadmo si dice anche che offrì al tempio di Atena Lindia un prezioso lebate in bronzo con incisa un'iscrizione a caratteri «fenici»; infine c'è la menzione del tempio di Zeus Atabirio innalzato dal cretese Altemene sul monte Atabiro⁴¹.

L'interesse antiquario ed erudito di Zenone per l'elemento culturale in genere e l'attenzione per le dediche ad Atena Lindia in particolare — interesse e attenzione che emergono sia dalla *Cronaca* sia da Diodoro

³⁷ Tra gli scrittori non di Rodi menzionati nella *Cronaca* senza dubbio il più rilevante è Xenagoras di Eraclea pontica (forse padre dello storico di III sec. Ninfide, *FGrHist* 432), menzionato ben 25 volte nel testo epigrafico lindio (= *FGrHist* 240 F1-25). Sulla redazione della *Cronaca* e sui problemi riguardanti i tempi e le tappe della redazione cfr. F.X. RYAN, *Breadth and Depth* (n. 36).

³⁸ *I. Lindos* 2 C, cap. 35 l. 90 e cap. 40 l. 117.

³⁹ F. JACOBY in *FGrHist* IIIB *Text* (1955), p. 434.

⁴⁰ Cfr. per esempio Diodoro V 56.6 sull'origine del modo rodio di sacrificare ad Atena (vale a dire portando le vittime senza il fuoco per bruciarle); a 58.5 e 59.4 ci sono riferimenti al culto eroico riservato rispettivamente a Forbante e Altemene.

⁴¹ Diodoro V 58.1 (su Danao e il tempio di Atena); 58.2 (su Cadmo, il tempio di Poseidone e la dedica al tempio di Atena); 59.2 (su Altemene e il tempio di Zeus Artabirio).

— trovano una conferma indiretta in un passo di Polibio, se esso, come sembra, è basato sulla testimonianza di Zenone. Nel libro XXXI Polibio fa infatti riferimento a un'ambasceria rodia inviata nel 163 ca. a Roma per discutere sia della sorte di Calinda, ribellatasi a Cauno e aiutata da Rodi stessa, sia dei possessi privati di cittadini rodii nei territori cari e lici. In quell'occasione, racconta Polibio, i Rodii decretarono che in onore del popolo romano fosse dedicato nel tempio di Atena a Lindo un colosso di 30 cubiti⁴².

Dalle testimonianze incrociate di Diodoro, della *Cronaca* e di Polibio si ricava pertanto che Zenone nutriva un forte interesse antiquario per i culti rodii in genere e in particolare per quello di Atena lindia⁴³.

Torniamo ora ai capitoli di Strabone su Rodi. Forse non è senza rilevanza che, all'interno di tale sezione, proprio a Lindo venga dedicato un certo spazio in più rispetto a Camiro e Ialiso⁴⁴: il Geografo infatti accenna al tempio di Atena e alle figlie di Danao che lo innalzarono. Inoltre l'interesse della fonte di Strabone per le offerte votive trova conferma — seppure in maniera condensata — nel già analizzato par. 5. Lì si afferma che, in conseguenza della loro *politeia* e del prestigio derivante dall'amicizia con Roma e con altri regni, i Rodii furono autonomi a lungo e la loro isola «fu adornata di molte offerte che giacciono in gran parte nel *Dionysion* e nel ginnasio, mentre altre (offerte) si trovano in altri luoghi»⁴⁵. Dopo queste parole Strabone accenna, a mo' di esemplificazione, al celeberrimo Colosso raffigurante il dio Elio (opera di Carete di Lindo) e ai dipinti di Protogene collocati all'interno di un τέμενος (del *Dionysion*? oppure del tempio di Atena lindia?)⁴⁶.

4. Proviamo a ricavare qualche ulteriore conclusione da quanto visto sin qui. Quel che Strabone racconta con dovizia di particolari sulla *Urgeschichte* dell'isola di Rodi, così come, più in breve, sul tema

⁴² Polibio XXXI 4-5: cfr. F.W. WALBANK, *Historical Commentary*, III, p. 469-470.

⁴³ L'interesse per l'elemento cultuale era caratteristico della storiografia locale rodia come mostra per esempio quanto afferma il lessico *Suda* su Dionisio di Rodi, ἱερεὺς del dio Elio e ἱστορικὸς: *Suda*, s.v. Διονύσιος Μουσωνίου = Dionisio Rodio, *FGrHist* 511 T1.

⁴⁴ Strabone XIV 2.11 (su Lindo) e 12 (su Camiro e Ialiso).

⁴⁵ Strabone XIV 2.5: πολλοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐκοσμήθη (*scil.* Rodi), ἃ κεῖται τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ καὶ τῷ γυμνασίῳ, ἄλλα δ' ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις.

⁴⁶ Strabone XIV 2.5 parla di un dipinto di Protogene raffigurante Satiro sul quale compariva un picchio dipinto così realisticamente da attrarre altri volatili e distrarre così gli osservatori: Protogene convinse pertanto i custodi del «recinto sacro» a permettergli di cancellare quel particolare.

antiquario dei donarii rodii, si può mettere in connessione con altri elementi di esplicita derivazione zenoniana, vale a dire l'*excursus* diodoreo su Rodi e i riferimenti contenuti nella *Cronaca* di Lindo. Pertanto si può affermare che non soltanto nel par. 5 (incentrato sulla storia istituzionale e politica di Rodi), ma anche nel complesso della sezione rodia della *Geografia* (XIV 2.5-12) si può riscontrare un certo influsso di Zenone.

Se però per la parte politico-istituzionale Strabone potrebbe aver fatto affidamento sul solo Zenone, per i paragrafi di argomento «antiquario» sulla storia mitica dell'isola, sulle sue origini, sulle sue bellezze monumentali, sulla sua mitologia e sul suo ruolo in età arcaica il Geografo sembra aver combinato l'apporto di Zenone con notizie di altra provenienza. Ne è testimonianza il fatto che Strabone faccia riferimento a tradizioni diverse (e opposte) in relazione al giudizio da dare sui Telchini o in relazione alla colonizzazione rodia in Occidente prima della istituzione dei Giochi olimpici⁴⁷.

Un'ultima osservazione. Strabone non manca di inserire sue proprie notazioni personali su quanto va raccontando: per esempio nel riferire del sinecismo di Lindo, Camiro e Ialiso nel 408/7 (al tempo della Guerra peloponnesiaca), il Geografo afferma che secondo i Rodii l'architetto che costruì la città di Rodi era il medesimo che innalzò le mura del Pireo ad Atene; solo che, al tempo di Strabone, le mura del Pireo erano oramai crollate, prima a opera dei Lacedemoni, in seguito per opera di Silla⁴⁸. E anche l'intero par. 13, contenente un elenco di uomini μνήμης ἄξιοι provenienti da Rodi, sembra essere frutto delle ricerche di Strabone più che provenire da una ben precisa fonte eventualmente consultata dallo storico/geografo di Amaseia⁴⁹.

5. A questo punto è necessario fare qualche considerazione sul carattere dell'opera di Zenone di Rodi partendo dagli elementi messi finora in evidenza e dai resti della storiografia rodia di età ellenistica⁵⁰.

⁴⁷ Strabone XIV 2.7 (sui Telchini); 10 (sulla prima mitica talassocrazia rodia).

⁴⁸ Strabone XIV 2.9.

⁴⁹ Su analoghi *excursus* straboniani sugli «uomini di fama» provenienti da una determinata città o regione cfr. le acute osservazioni di J. ENGELS, "Ἀνδρες ἔνδοξοι or «Men of High Reputation» in Strabo's Geography, in D. DUECK – H. LINDSAY – S. POTHECARY (a cura di), *Strabo's Cultural Geography. The Making of a Kolossourgia*, Cambridge 2005, p. 129-143.

⁵⁰ Oltre a H.-U. WIEMER, *Rhodische Traditionen* (n. 1), occorre citare soprattutto P. FUNKE, *Χρονικαὶ συντάξεις* (n. 6), p. 255-262.

Nel suo commento ai frammenti degli storici rodii F. Jacoby (1955) partiva dalla *Cronaca di Atena lindia* per tentare di ricavarne un quadro complessivo sulla produzione storiografica di Rodi in epoca ellenistica. In particolare Jacoby accoglieva, a proposito delle opere menzionate nella *Cronaca*, la distinzione prospettata da Ch. Blinkenberg tra χρονικαὶ συντάξεις (tra cui l'opera dello stesso Zenone) e ἱστορίαι, anche se — è bene rammentarlo — non mancano nell'iscrizione riferimenti a titoli tipicamente antiquarii come Περὶ Ῥόδου ο Ῥόδου ἐγκώμιον⁵¹. In particolare nel primo filone (quello delle χρονικαὶ συντάξεις) Jacoby vedeva delle *Lokalchroniken* di carattere annalistico distinte dalle *Hellenikai* vere e proprie la cui prospettiva andava al di là del localistico⁵².

Nel 1994 P. Funke ha ripreso tale distinzione tra χρονικαὶ συντάξεις e ἱστορίαι ed è giunto alla conclusione che la storiografia di Zenone (e forse anche quella di Antistene) consisteva in una trattatistica «orografica», in una ἐντόπιος ἱστορία⁵³, che, benché caratterizzata da un marcato *Lokalpatriotismus*, eccedeva dagli angusti limiti della storia locale. Per tale motivo la storia locale rodia andrebbe collocata, secondo Funke, nel quadro della «più ampia storia del mondo mediterraneo orientale» giacché essa era capace di suscitare le attenzioni di autori di «storia universale» come Polibio e Diodoro Siculo⁵⁴.

In effetti della capacità della storia locale rodia di connettersi con i grandi eventi della storia greca fornisce a mio avviso un chiaro (seppur breve) esempio il racconto di Polibio relativo alle pretese rodie su Soli dopo la vittoria romana su Antioco III: in quell'occasione i Rodii

⁵¹ Chr. BLINKENBERG, *Lindische Tempelchronik* (n. 36), p. 48.

⁵² Cfr. F. JACOBY in *FGrHist IIIB Text* (1955), p. 425.

⁵³ L'opera di Zenone viene definita ἐντόπιος ἱστορία da Diogene Laerzio VII 35 = Zenone, *FGrHist* 523 T1. Sulla storia locale cfr. le osservazioni di F. JACOBY, *Ueber die Entwicklung der griechischen Geschichtsschreibung und den Plan einer neuen Sammlung der griechischen Historikerfragmente*, *Klio* 9 (1909), p. 109-110 n. 2 (che classicava la «storia locale» come quinto e ultimo sotto-genere nello sviluppo della storiografia antica). Sulla sistemazione di Jacoby e sul *format* e il contenuto della «storia locale» cfr. le osservazioni di L. PORCIANI, *Prime forme della storiografia greca. Prospettiva locale e generale nella narrazione storica*, Stuttgart 2001, p. 28-33; J. MARINCOLA, *Introduction*, in Id. (a cura di), *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*, I, Oxford 2007, p. 5-7; Ph. HARDING, *Local History and Athidography*, in J. MARINCOLA (a cura di), *Companion*, I, p. 182-187; K. CLARKE, *Making Time* (n. 24), p. 169-244. Jacoby traeva spunto per la pregnante definizione di orografia da Diodoro I 26.5: F. JACOBY, *Ueber die Entwicklung*, p. 109 n. 2.

⁵⁴ P. FUNKE, *Χρονικαὶ συντάξεις* (n. 6), p. 261.

basarono infatti le loro argomentazioni su un elemento di carattere storiografico tipico della storia locale, ovvero la presunta συγγένεια tra Rodi e la città della Cilicia derivante dalle comuni origini argive⁵⁵.

In definitiva: in ragione delle caratteristiche sopra menzionate, «non è un caso» — afferma Funke — che questa storiografia rodia di livello alto sia il prodotto di uomini politici e che essa sorga tra III e II sec., a testimonianza della potenza e della coscienza di sé dello stato rodio.

Si tratta di considerazioni del tutto condivisibili, ribadite di recente anche dal lavoro di Wiemer. E tuttavia si può proporre qualche osservazione ulteriore sulla struttura dell'opera di Zenone. Essa, a giudicare dagli elementi che abbiamo a disposizione, abbracciava un arco di tempo che va dalla storia mitica di Rodi all'età contemporanea dello scrittore (prima metà circa del II sec. a.C.) e, come riteneva lo Jacoby, era strutturata come una cronaca di carattere annalistico in cui lo spazio riservato alle origini mitiche dell'isola doveva essere piuttosto ridotto visto che (stando alla *Cronaca di Atena lindia*) già nel secondo libro veniva trattata l'età di Pirro⁵⁶.

Sulla base di quello che si è visto nel brano straboniano del libro XIV, si può affermare che nella parte riservata alla «preistoria» di Rodi Zenone tendeva probabilmente a collocare le vicende mitiche dell'isola nell'ambito più ampio della mitologia greca e della prima età arcaica, così come per le vicende successive, specie quelle a lui contemporanee, Zenone adottava un orizzonte più ampio di quello strettamente localistico di Rodi.

Certamente il fatto che già nel libro II Zenone trattasse di Pirro mostra che la gran parte degli sforzi dello storico era concentrata sull'età contemporanea o comunque sulle vicende politiche del periodo ellenistico. Ciò è visibile in specie per altri due brani di Diodoro che la letteratura moderna comunemente attribuisce a Zenone: si tratta della descrizione dell'inondazione che afflisse Rodi nel 316 e del lungo racconto sull'assedio di Demetrio Poliorcete nel 294 circa⁵⁷.

⁵⁵ Polibio XXI 24.10-12; su Soli fondazione di Argo e Lindo cfr. Strabone XIV 5.8.

⁵⁶ I. LINDOS 2 C, cap. 40 l. 117: cfr. F. JACOBY in *FGrHist* IIIB Text (1955), p. 434 e P. FUNKE, *Χρονικαὶ συντάξεις* (n. 6), p. 258.

⁵⁷ Diodoro XIX 45 (sull'inondazione) e XX 81-88 e 90-100 (sull'assedio del Poliorcete). Che Zenone sia la fonte di Diodoro in merito all'assedio di Rodi suppongono J. HORNBLLOWER, *Hieronymus of Cardia*, Oxford 1981, p. 56-60 e R. A. HAZZARD, *Did Ptolemy I get his Surname from the Rhodians?*, *ZPE* 3 (1992), p. 55. I due brani diodorei hanno ricevuto un ampio e approfondito commento in H.-U. WIEMER, *Rhodische Traditionen* (n. 1), p. 219-222 e 238-250.

Zenone si dilungava certamente sulle vicende della propria patria: le vicende di Rodi venivano narrate secondo un'ottica interna alle istituzioni rodie, ma nel contempo esse venivano legate agli accadimenti generali del mondo ellenistico. In effetti le testimonianze superstiti mostrano che lo storico di Rodi trattava di eventi rodii connessi con la grande storia ellenistica (per esempio l'assedio di Demetrio Poliorcete a Rodi nel 294 ca. o la battaglia di Lade combattuta contro Filippo V), ma poteva anche dilungarsi su eventi che nulla avevano a che fare con l'isola (Nabide o la battaglia di Panion).

Occorre osservare a questo punto che la commistione in Zenone tra versante antiquario ed erudito da una parte e versante di storia contemporanea (nel senso lato di vicende di epoca ellenistica) e politico-istituzionale dall'altra trova dei paralleli nella storiografia rodia frammentaria⁵⁸. In altre opere inscrivibili nella tradizione di storia locale e antiquaria su Rodi (Περὶ Ῥόδου ο Ῥοδιακά) si riscontra infatti la medesima compresenza di mitografia e di vera e propria narrazione storica. Per esempio da Antipatro, datato da Jacoby alla prima metà del II a.C. (quindi contemporaneo di Zenone) e autore di un Περὶ Ῥόδου, proviene la notizia «mitologica» di Stefano di Bisanzio secondo cui l'Armenia (definita χώρα πλησίον τῶν Περσῶν) prenderebbe il proprio nome ἀπὸ Ἀρμένου Ῥοδίου⁵⁹. Plinio il Vecchio invece ci trasmette la notizia secondo cui Antipatro parlava di due elefanti adoperati in guerra da un «re Antioco»⁶⁰.

Anche Ergia, che secondo la *Cronaca di Atena* compose delle ἱστορίαι, trattava, come Zenone, della dedica che il *demos* rodio fece ad Atena al tempo di Artaserse III (359/338) ed era uno dei testimoni per l'interessantissimo racconto sulla prima «epifania» della dea Atena datata dalla *Cronaca* al 490⁶¹. Secondo Ateneo però Ergia trattava anche della mitica colonizzazione fenicia dell'isola⁶².

Gorgone — il cui Περὶ Ῥόδου è più volte menzionato nella *Cronaca* in riferimento ai Telchini, Minosse, Eracle, Tlepolemo, Telefo⁶³ — faceva cenno, secondo Ateneo, anche a Tolemeo I Soter nel suo Περὶ

⁵⁸ I frammenti degli storici rodii sono raccolti da F. Jacoby in *FGrHist* 507-533.

⁵⁹ Stefano Bizantino, s.v. Ἀρμενία = Antipatro, *FGrHist* 507 F1.

⁶⁰ Plinio, *NH* VIII 11 = Antipatro, *FGrHist* 507 F2.

⁶¹ *I. Lindos* 2 C, cap. 35 l. 90 = Ergia, *FGrHist* 513 F2 (sulla dedica del *demos* rodio) e D, cap. 1 l. 1-59, part. l. 48-49 = Ergia, *FGrHist* 513 F3 (sulla prima epifania).

⁶² Ateneo VIII 61.360D-361C = Ergia, *FGrHist* 513 F1.

⁶³ *I. Lindos* 2 B, cap. 2, 4, 5, 6, 8 = Gorgone, *FGrHist* 515 F 2-6.

τῶν ἐν Ῥόδῳ θυσίων (sempre che tale opera sia davvero distinta dall'opera citata nella *Cronaca*)⁶⁴.

Infine Polizelo, che secondo Jacoby è con Zenone l'autore più letto su Rodi⁶⁵, trattò nelle sue ἱστορίαι, secondo la testimonianza della *Cronaca di Atena*, di Cadmo e del mitico Cleobulo (uno dei sette sapienti⁶⁶) e nel contempo trattò di personaggi storici come l'egiziano Amasi e il persiano Artaserse⁶⁷. E anche nei Ῥοδιακά Polizelo si occupò sia dei tempi mitici (in riferimento alla colonizzazione fenicia di Rodi e a Forbante⁶⁸), sia di Solone di Atene⁶⁹.

6. Un'ultima notazione. Abbiamo detto che nei passi polibiani relativi a Rodi la critica moderna ha visto l'apporto di una fonte unica filo-rodia. Ora, è importante sottolineare che tale fonte (identificata per lo più con Zenone stesso) mostra una notevole attenzione nei riguardi della documentazione epigrafica e della documentazione d'archivio in genere. Vediamo meglio i termini della questione.

Nei famosi capitoli del libro V relativi al terremoto di Rodi del 227 ca. e ai donativi giunti sull'isola dalla gran parte del mondo ellenistico si è visto un riflesso — più probabilmente indiretto che diretto — di registrazioni epigrafiche consultabili a Rodi. Secondo M. Holleaux Polibio si era servito in questo caso di Zenone, il quale a sua volta avrebbe consultato *de visu* le iscrizioni disponibili sull'isola⁷⁰. In effetti il ricorso al materiale epigrafico rodio da parte della fonte di Polibio sarebbe testimoniato in quei capitoli dall'alternanza tra il verbo «dare» e il verbo «promettere» in riferimento ai numerosi donativi, a seconda che questi

⁶⁴ Ateneo XV 52.696F = Gorgone, *FGrHist* 515 F 19.

⁶⁵ F. JACOBY in *FGrHist* IIIB Text (1955), p. 432.

⁶⁶ Strabone XIV 2.11.

⁶⁷ I. *Lindos* 2 B, cap. 3 (su Cadmo) e C, cap. 23 (su Cleobulo) = Polizelo, *FGrHist* 521 F1-2; I. *Lindos* 2 C, cap. 29 (su Amasi) e 32 (su Artaserse) = Polizelo, *FGrHist* 521 F3-4.

⁶⁸ Ateneo VIII 61.361C = Polizelo, *FGrHist* 521 F6; Igino, *Astronomia* II 14 = Polizelo, *FGrHist* 521 F7.

⁶⁹ Plutarco, *Sol.* 15.7 = Polizelo, *FGrHist* 521 F8.

⁷⁰ Polibio V 88-90: cfr. F.W. WALBANK, *Historical Commentary*, I, p. 616-622. Sull'ipotesi che Zenone sia alla base di Polibio cfr. M. HOLLEAUX, *Polybe et le tremblement de terre de Rhodes*, *REG* 1923, p. 492 n. 2 = ID., *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques*, I, Paris 1938, p. 456. Tale ipotesi viene accolta da F.W. WALBANK, *Historical Commentary*, I, p. 616. H. ULLRICH, *De Polybii fontibus* (n. 3), p. 28 pensa invece che Polibio abbia visionato direttamente «*tabula aliqua donorum*».

donativi fossero stati effettivamente inviati a Rodi oppure solamente promessi⁷¹.

Ma il caso più appariscente di uso di materiale epigrafico da parte della fonte rodia di Polibio concerne la già citata narrazione della battaglia di Lade contro Filippo V contenuta nel libro XVI⁷². Si è visto che Polibio si distanziava da Zenone in merito alla maniera di interpretare una lettera inviata dal navarco rodio alla βουλή e al pritaneo subito dopo la battaglia e consultabile presso lo stesso pritaneo. Nonostante Ullrich e Schulte pensassero che Polibio avesse consultato direttamente la lettera del navarco conservata nel pritaneo, pare preferibile pensare, alla luce delle osservazioni di P. Pédech e H.-U. Wiemer, che un viaggio di Polibio nell'isola sia poco plausibile⁷³. Stando così le cose, il Megalopolitano potrebbe aver avuto cognizione del documento epistolare (forse inciso su pietra) tramite un intermediario identificabile appunto con Zenone⁷⁴.

⁷¹ Sulla distinzione tra «dare» e «promettere» cfr. le osservazioni di L. MIGEOTTE, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques*, Genève 1992, p. 325-326 e di A. BRESSON – P. BRUN – E. VARINLIOĞLU, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines*, in P. DEBORD – E. VARINLIOĞLU (a cura di), *Les Hautes terres de Carie*, Bordeaux 2001, p. 97-98 (con riferimenti ad altri esempi epigrafici).

⁷² Polibio XVI 15.8: cfr. F.W. WALBANK, *Historical Commentary*, II, p. 520. Cfr. le osservazioni di G. ZECCHINI, *Le lettere come documenti in Polibio*, in A. M. BIRASCHI – P. DESIDERI – S. RODA – G. ZECCHINI (a cura di), *L'uso dei documenti nella storiografia antica*, Napoli 2003, p. 418-419.

⁷³ H. ULLRICH, *De Polybii fontibus* (n. 3), p. 10; A. SCHULTE, *De ratione quae intercedit inter Polybium et tabulas publicas*, Halis Sax. 1910, p. 181-182. Incerto sulla questione appare F.W. WALBANK, *Historical Commentary*, II, p. 520 secondo il quale non si può escludere né l'autopsia da parte di Polibio, né che lo storico acheo fosse venuto a conoscenza del documento tramite Zenone. Contro un possibile viaggio di Polibio a Rodi e quindi contro l'ipotesi di una consultazione diretta della lettera del navarco rodio si sono espressi con buoni argomenti P. PÉDECH, *La méthode historique de Polybe*, Paris 1964, p. 379-380 e H.-U. WIEMER, *Rhodische Traditionen* (n. 1), p. 22-24. Assolutamente condivisibile sembra l'osservazione di J. THORNTON, *Polibio. Storie (Libri XII-XVIII). A cura di D. Musti. Note di J. Thornton*, Milano 2003, p. 574 n. 7 (ad l.): «Appare (...) molto improbabile che il navarco rodio avesse esplicitamente riconosciuto la sconfitta, e sarà stato piuttosto P.[olibio] ad interpretarne la lettera in questo senso».

⁷⁴ Oltre ai due casi più appariscenti appena visti (quello del libro V e quello del libro XVI), vanno menzionati altri passi: Polibio XXVIII 1.3 (cfr. P. PÉDECH, *Méthode* [n. 73], p. 380) menziona una lettera inviata da Quinto Marcio al δῆμος di Rodi; a XXXI 4-5 (cfr. F.W. WALBANK, *Historical Commentary*, III, p. 469-470 con discussione sulla documentazione relativa all'istituzione del culto per la Dea Roma in Rodi) si fa riferimento a un «decreto» con cui i Rodii stabilirono di dedicare a popolo romano nel tempio di Atena Lindia un colosso di 30 cubiti. Meno attinenti sembrano altri due luoghi delle *Storie*: a XXX 4.11 si fa riferimento al discorso tenuto il senato nel 168/7 dal rodio Astimede e alla redazione scritta che poi egli fece circolare (cfr. F.W. WALBANK,

Va rilevato poi che una certa attenzione per la documentazione scritta si ravvisa non solo per l'autore rodio adoperato da Polibio (e identificato con Zenone), ma si ravvisa anche per un brano di Diodoro Siculo esplicitamente risalente a Zenone⁷⁵. Si tratta del lungo frammento relativo alle origine mitiche di Rodi contenuto nel libro V della *Biblioteca storica*. Zenone/Diodoro fa riferimento alla dedica di un lebete bronzeo da parte di Cadmo ad Atena lindia⁷⁶; poco prima, inoltre, Diodoro aveva fatto riferimento alla dedica di una statua alla stessa Atena lindia da parte di Danao e delle sue figlie: è possibile che in questo caso Zenone richiamasse l'iscrizione che accompagnava la mitica dedica di Danao.

Ora, è opportuno osservare che anche la sezione della *Geografia* straboniana su Rodi (XIV 2.5-12) presenta caratteristiche analoghe e denota il ricorso a materiale epigrafico da parte della fonte utilizzata dal Geografo del Ponto. Proviamo a vedere i termini del problema.

Anzitutto, proprio all'inizio della sezione rodia, c'è un rimando ai «molti» donativi che Rodi ricevette grazie al prestigio ottenuto con la sua politica di alleanze⁷⁷. Strabone fa esplicito riferimento agli ἀναθήματα giunti a Rodi servendosi di una formula (πολλοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἔκοσμήθη) tipicamente «epigrafica», analoga per esempio — tra gli innumerevoli paralleli che si possono trovare — proprio all'*incipit* della *Cronaca di Atena lindia*⁷⁸.

Più rilevante ancora mi sembra poi un esempio successivo, contenuto ancora nel par. 5. Parlando dei porti (ναύσταθμα) di Rodi la fonte di Strabone specifica che alcuni di essi sono «segreti» e tenuti nascosti sulla base di una rigida normativa per cui viene addirittura comminata la pena capitale a chi, non autorizzato, vi accede. Tutto ciò viene detto con un'espressione (τῷ δὲ κατοπτεύσαντι ἢ παρελθόντι εἴσω θάνατος ὄριστο ἢ ζημία: sottolineatura mia) che risente del linguaggio giuridico

Historical Commentary, III, p. 420-421); a XXX 8.1 si fa riferimento a una lettera inviata dall'antigonide Perseo agli anti-romani Dinone e Poliarato (cfr. F.W. WALBANK, *Historical Commentary*, III, p. 429 *ad l.*). In effetti nel primo caso si tratta non di un documento di archivio, ma semmai della testimonianza apologetica redatta a titolo personale da un uomo politico rodio; nel secondo si tratta di una lettera «privata» di un βασιλεύς ad alcuni esponenti della classe dirigente dell'isola che forse ne fecero pubblicità nell'isola anche se probabilmente non si giunse mai a una vera e propria registrazione d'archivio.

⁷⁵ Diodoro V 55-59 = Zenone, *FGrHist* 523 F1.

⁷⁶ Diodoro V 58.

⁷⁷ Strabone XIV 2.5.

⁷⁸ I. *Lindos* 2 A, l. 3.

quale compare nei decreti cittadini e quale, inoltre, viene richiamato nelle orazioni attiche⁷⁹.

L'esempio più evidente dell'interesse della fonte straboniana per il materiale epigrafico rodio è senza dubbio quello relativo all'espressione ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῶν ἀνθρώπων utilizzata da Strabone nel par. 10 in riferimento alle imprese dei Rodii prima dei Giochi Olimpici, quando le navi dell'isola si recarono lontano dalla patria «per la salvezza degli uomini»⁸⁰. L'espressione straboniana è stata messa in rapporto con la lotta di Rodi contro i pirati (menzionata anche al par. 5) e a ragione si è anche notato che un'espressione analoga, sicuramente celebrativa dell'impegno dei Rodi, si trova in un'iscrizione di Delo del III sec. circa a.C. in onore del rodio Antigene ναύαρχος ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν νήσων καὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῶν Ἑλλήνων⁸¹. Nel suo momento di massima fioritura dunque la potenza marittima di Rodi poteva essere celebrata ufficialmente in sede epigrafica sottolineando il ruolo di «salvatori» dei Rodii nel presidiare i mari contro i pirati.

7. Alla luce di tutto quello che si è messo in evidenza nel corso del presente studio, si può affermare che probabilmente è da Zenone che Strabone ricavò molte notizie contenute nella sezione su Rodi del libro XIV della *Geografia*. Per il par. 5 (incentrato, in gran parte, sulla storia politica e istituzionale dell'isola) Strabone fece affidamento sul solo Zenone, verisimilmente consultato direttamente dal Geografo del Ponto; invece per i restanti paragrafi (XIV 2.6-12) Strabone combinò l'apporto di Zenone con elementi provenienti da fonti diverse (attingendo per esempio all'erudizione omerica di Apollodoro di Atene).

La Χρονικὴ σύνταξις di Zenone era con ogni probabilità strutturata alla maniera di un trattato annalistico od «orografico» in cui le vicende di Rodi avevano un peso certamente preponderante. Zenone si occupava, anche se in breve, dei tempi mitici cercando di collocare le vicende di Rodi nel quadro maggiore della mitografia greca e della storia greca

⁷⁹ Cfr. per esempio Licurgo, *Leoc.* 66. Si vedano anche alcune espressioni analoghe in Demostene: or. XIX 126 e 286; or. XX 167; or. XLV 80; or. LIV 23. Cfr. anche Eschine, *Ctes.* 250; Lisia or. XXII 13.

⁸⁰ Strabone XIV 2.10: καὶ πρὸ τῆς Ὀλυμπικῆς θέσεως συχνοῖς ἔτεσιν ἔπλεον πόρρω τῆς οἰκείας ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἄφ' οὗ καὶ μέχρι Ἰβηρίας ἔπλευσαν, κάκεῖ μὲν τὴν Ῥόδην ἔκτισαν ἣν ὕστερον Μασσαλιῶται κατέσχον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ὀπικοῖς τὴν Παρθενόπην, ἐν δὲ Δαννίοις μετὰ Κῶων Ἑλπίας.

⁸¹ IG XI 596: cfr. M.J. PENA, *ΕΠΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ* (n. 12), p. 111.

arcaica. D'altra parte lo storico di Rodi si occupava a lungo anche del periodo ellenistico della storia di Rodi tentando, anche in questo caso, di connettere gli eventi relativi all'isola all'ambito più generale della storia ellenistica. In particolare è stato notato che le vicende che interessavano Rodi venivano raccontate da Zenone secondo un'ottica interna alle istituzioni politiche dell'isola, direttamente note all'uomo politico Zenone.

Da ciò derivano alcuni tratti caratteristici di Zenone, vale a dire la commistione di elementi propri di un trattato antiquario ed erudito da una parte, ed elementi propri di un trattato di storia politico-istituzionale dall'altra; e ancora la compresenza (riscontrabile anche in altri esempi di storiografia rodia d'età ellenistica, secondo Peter Funke⁸²) di mitografia da una parte e storia del mondo ellenistico dall'altra.

La compresenza di versante mitografico e di versante storico vero e proprio trova la sua espressione più interessante nei riferimenti di Zenone al materiale epigrafico e d'archivio: lo storico rodio può riferirsi sia a epigrafi fittizie (prodotto erudito d'età ellenistica relativo all'età mitica), sia a reali registrazioni epigrafiche o d'archivio relative a Rodi e alle sue vicende politiche. In effetti una tale commistione di materiale antiquario da una parte e di materiale d'archivio dall'altra era forse caratteristica della storiografia locale rodia e se ne trova un altro celebre esempio nella *Cronaca di Atena lindia* e nell'amplissimo arco cronologico che essa abbraccia.

Nel complesso tutte queste caratteristiche (compresenza di mitografia e storia contemporanea; erudizione antiquaria e impegno politico; ricorso a iscrizioni fittizie d'età mitica e ricorso a reale materiale d'archivio) trovano, come si è visto, esplicita manifestazione proprio nel brano di Strabone esaminato nel presente lavoro (XIV 2.5-12).

Si tratta, come si è visto, di un brano che mostra punti di contatto non trascurabili con alcuni passi di Polibio e Diodoro relativi all'isola di Rodi e risalenti, secondo la letteratura moderna, a Zenone. Di qui la mia ipotesi che si possa parlare di una fonte comune tra Polibio, Diodoro e Strabone e che tale fonte sia identificabile, appunto, con la *Χρονικὴ σύνταξις* di Zenone di Rodi.

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⁸² P. FUNKE, *Χρονικαὶ σύνταξεις* (n. 6), p. 260.

LES DISCOURS DIRECTS DANS L'ŒUVRE DE FLORUS*

Abstract: L'usage du discours direct reflète les goûts esthétiques de Florus: *breuitas*, dramatisation, attention portée à la prosodie et aux figures de style. En cela, comme la plupart de ses homologues, il désire maintenir une unité entre le ton du discours et celui du récit. Mais le discours direct n'est pas réductible à une fonction ornementale: il reflète dans une parole individuelle la vision du monde propre à l'historien. Les thèmes essentiels de l'œuvre — la *fortuna*, la *uirtus* et le *populus Romanus* — imprègnent en effet tous ces passages, qui, loin de viser à une polyphonie faisant entendre une pluralité de points de vue, sont romanocentrés et s'inscrivent dans le dessein idéologique global de Florus: exalter le *populus Romanus*, promouvoir le pacifisme et dénoncer l'horreur des guerres civiles. À cette fin, Florus mobilise différents procédés historiographiques bien identifiables, dont les principaux sont le pastiche, l'écho, l'altération des sources et la citation.

La place que les historiens anciens, et notamment latins, accordent aux propos des personnages qu'ils mettent en scène a déjà été maintes fois étudiée. Des monographies minutieuses, portant sur des écrivains en particulier¹ ou sur une forme de discours commune à plusieurs auteurs², sans parler des innombrables travaux consacrés à un passage précis, ont abordé ce thème sous des angles variés: linguistique (caractérisation des discours directs et indirects, énonciation)³, stylistique (usage des tropes, structure et rythme de la phrase oratoire)⁴, historiographique (rôle et sens

* Nous avons suivi, dans la mesure du possible, les éditions et les traductions de la *Collection des Universités de France*; à défaut, nous avons élaboré notre propre traduction d'après le texte de la *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*.

¹ Pour César, Tite-Live et Tacite, on pourra se reporter à la bibliographie figurant à la fin de R. UTARD, *Le discours indirect chez les historiens latins: écriture ou oralité? Histoire d'un style* (BEC, 43), Louvain-Paris 2004, p. 446-466.

² Ainsi la harangue pour M.H. HANSEN, *The Battle Exhortation in Ancient Historiography: Fact or Fiction?*, *Historia* 42 (1993), p. 161-180; le discours «dramatique» pour N.P. MILLER, *Dramatic Speech in the Roman Historians*, *G&R* 22 (1975), p. 45-57.

³ Ainsi, pour l'utilisation du discours direct: J. PERRET, *Le style direct dans le De Bello Gallico*, *Hum(RES.)* 6 (1933), p. 49-53; indirect: R. UTARD, *op. cit.* (n. 1); EAD., *L'éloquence stratégique en discours indirect chez César, Tite-Live et Tacite: essai comparé*, *REL* 84 (2006), p. 62-81.

⁴ Pour Tite-Live par exemple, si H. TAINE, *Essai sur Tite-Live*, Paris 1923⁹ [1855¹], p. 288-318, relève surtout de la critique littéraire, d'autres travaux sont plus précis, et analysent méthodiquement les figures de style (H.V. CANTER, *Rhetorical Elements in Livy's Direct Speeches. Part I*, *AJPh* 38 [1917], p. 134-151, et *Part II*, *AJPh* 39 [1918], p. 44-64; P.G. WALSH, *Livy, his Historical Aims and Methods*, Cambridge 1961, p. 236-242), la composition (R. ULLMANN, *La technique des discours dans Salluste, Tite-Live et*

de ces discours dans le projet d'ensemble de l'historien)⁵, historique (utilisation des sources et degré de fidélité à la réalité)⁶, etc...

Tous les historiens, cependant, n'ont pas bénéficié du même intérêt: Florus, par exemple a été presque entièrement négligé à cet égard. Outre en effet qu'il suscite un dédain tenace en raison de ses erreurs historiques et de sa préciosité stylistique⁷, son *Epitomè*⁸, condensant en deux livres ramassés huit siècles de l'histoire de Rome — de sa fondation au

Tacite, Oslo 1927; A. LAMBERT, *Die indirekte Rede als künstlerisches Stillmittel des Livius*, diss. Zurich 1946) ou le rythme de la phrase oratoire (J. DANGEL, *La phrase oratoire chez Tite-Live*, Paris 1982).

⁵ À cet égard, ce sont César (e.g. M. RAMBAUD, *L'art de la déformation historique dans les Commentaires de César*, Paris 1966² [1953], p. 232-237) et Tacite (e.g. J. GINSBURG, *Speech and Allusion in Tacitus. Annals 3.49-51 and 14.48-49*, *AJPh* 107 [1986], p. 525-541; O. DEVILLERS, *L'art de la persuasion dans les Annales de Tacite* [coll. *Latomus*, 223], Bruxelles 1994, p. 195-261; J.M. SCOTT, *The Rhetoric of Suppressed Speech: Tacitus' Omission of Direct Discourse in his Annals as a Technique in Character Denigration*, *AHB* 12 [1998], p. 8-18) qui ont concentré le plus grand nombre de travaux.

⁶ Citons à titre d'exemple, pour son ampleur, celle que É. AUBRION, *Rhétorique et histoire chez Tacite*, Metz 1985, p. 492-678, a consacrée à Tacite.

⁷ Alors même que Florus jouissait, jusqu'au XVIII^e siècle, d'une grande faveur (cf. E. MALCOVATI, *Studi su Floro*, *Athenaeum* 15 [1937], p. 71-80; V. ALBA, *La concepción historiográfica de Lucio Anneo Floro*, Madrid 1953, p. 157-165), au long du XIX^e siècle et au début du XX^e, les savants français (G. BIZOS, *Flori historici uel potius rhetoris de uero nomine, aetate qua uixerit et scriptis*, Paris 1876, *praes.* p. 53-76) et allemands (O. JAHN, *Iuli Flori Epitomae de Tito Livio bellorum omnium annorum DCC libri duo*, Leipzig 1852, p. XXXIV, XLVII; O. ROSSBACH, *Florus*, *RE* VI 2 [1909], col. 2764-2765) ont consacré une grande part de leurs efforts à traquer les erreurs factuelles de celui à qui l'on déniait le titre d'historien, et à qui l'on concédait tout juste un talent de rhéteur, mais boursoufflé et ridiculement emphatique (quelques jugements un peu plus doux, comme celui de O. ROSSBACH, *art. cit.*, col. 2763: «Dabei ist er nicht Historiker, sondern Rhetor, meist im guten Sinn des Wortes»). Si l'on trouve encore parfois des appréciations aussi sévères (e.g. J. GAILLARD, *Approche de la littérature latine. Des origines à Apulée*, Paris 1992, p. 116), la critique en est généralement venue à regarder Florus d'un œil plus favorable, en particulier grâce aux travaux de P. Jal, L. Havas et L. Bessone.

⁸ Il est acquis depuis longtemps (F. GIORDANO, *Interferenze adrianeae in Floro*, *Koinonia* 12 [1988], p. 115-117, résume la prise de conscience progressive qui s'est opérée parmi les savants à ce sujet) que l'œuvre de Florus n'est pas un simple «résumé» de l'œuvre de Tite-Live; toutefois, par convention, nous conservons le titre d'*Epitomé* pour désigner son œuvre (la proposition de L. BESSONE, *La storia epitomata. Introduzione a Floro*, Rome 1996, p. 17 [«la prétendue *Epitomè*»], est plus rigoureuse, mais trop peu commode; quant à l'hypothèse de P. JAL, *Florus. Œuvres*, Paris 1967 [CUF], t. I, p. XXI-XXII; id., c.r. de L. BESSONE, *op. cit.*, *Latomus* 58 [1999], p. 902, de «Tableau» [d'après le *tabella* de Flor., *proem.* 3], elle a été contestée avec de forts arguments par B. VENERONI, *Quatenus, qua ratione res politicas et sociales Florus tractaverit*, *Aevum* 48 [1974], p. 345, n. 1; B. BALDWIN, *Four Problems with Florus*, *Latomus* 47 [1988], p. 138-139; L. BESSONE, *Floro: un retore storico e poeta*, *ANRW* II 34.1 [1993], p. 84).

désastre de Varus —, ne contient pas ces longues oraisons qui retiennent d'ordinaire l'attention des critiques⁹. On a plutôt l'impression d'une série d'aphorismes, d'apophtegmes et de bons mots visant à adorer des récits déjà passablement ampoulés.

Se pencher sur la façon dont les paroles des personnages sont rapportées chez un tel auteur ne paraît donc guère s'imposer, surtout si l'on se limite aux seuls discours directs. La plupart du temps, effectivement, les propos y sont présentés sous une forme narrativisée (I 1.1, 3.1, 6.8, 18.17, etc...) ou au discours indirect (I 7.13, 13.20, 22.19, 31.4-5, etc...) ¹⁰, les passages en *oratio recta* s'élevant à un faible total de 24¹¹. Pourtant, en dépit de leur laconisme et de leur petit nombre, ils nous semblent révélateurs d'une certaine conception de l'historiographie, peu commune pour nous¹², et qu'il vaut la peine d'examiner plus à fond.

⁹ N.P. MILLER, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 46, ne le mentionne même pas, mais, parmi les historiens qu'elle écarte de son enquête sur le discours «dramatique», plusieurs le sont parce que les passages en style direct consistent en de brèves (Suétone) ou rares (Velleius Paterculus) citations, ou bien parce qu'ils écrivent une œuvre condensée (Justin), quand la qualité même d'historien ne leur est pas refusée (Valère Maxime): autant de critères d'exclusion qui pourraient s'appliquer à un Florus. — Quant aux études d'ensemble sur l'écriture de Florus, elles se bornent à constater en quelques mots que les passages au discours direct sont peu nombreux (L. BESSONE, *op. cit.* [n. 8] p. 180, n. 11) et d'une brièveté frappante (R. SIEGER, *Der Stil des Historikers Florus*, WS 51 [1934], p. 104; M. HOSE, *Erneuerung der Vergangenheit. Die Historiker im Imperium Romanum von Florus bis Cassius Dio*, Munich-Stuttgart 1994, p. 93), quand elles ne gardent pas un silence complet sur le sujet.

¹⁰ À la suite de G. GENETTE, *Figures*, III, Paris 1972, p. 190-193, nous appelons «discours narrativisé» (ou «raconté») celui qui traite les paroles ou les pensées du personnage comme un acte parmi d'autres; pour la définition du «discours indirect», nous renvoyons à R. UTARD, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 33-44. Nous avons relevé plus de 30 exemples de passages au discours indirect; plus de 60 au discours narrativisé. — Cette domination du discours indirect, courante chez les historiens latins, était cependant moins marquée chez les contemporains de Florus (cf. R. UTARD, *op. cit.* [n. 1] p. 15-17).

¹¹ Cf. annexe. Par commodité, nous renvoyons désormais à cette liste au moyen des numéros donnés entre crochets. — R. SIEGER, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 104, dit avoir relevé 22 passages au style direct (sans donner de liste), mais il met la lettre d'Attale [11] de côté; quant au 24^e, peut-être a-t-il considéré comme une glose des lignes que nous avons lues comme étant au discours direct [13, 19], à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'un simple oubli de sa part. On voit en tout cas par cette convergence globale entre les statistiques de R. Sieger et les nôtres que, comme le souligne R. UTARD, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 39, à la différence du discours indirect (il n'est pas deux chercheurs ayant fait le compte des discours indirects chez Tite-Live ou chez Tacite qui arrivent au même résultat), le discours direct se reconnaît si clairement qu'il n'est pas indispensable de lui donner ici une délimitation méticuleuse, laquelle requerrait un développement trop long dans le cadre du présent article.

¹² Sur le caractère unique (dans l'état de nos connaissances du moins) de l'œuvre de Florus, cf. e.g. A. GARZETTI, *Floro e l'età adrianea*, *Athenaeum* 42 (1964), p. 136;

Les rares contributions ayant prêté quelque attention aux *orationes rectae* chez Florus se concentrent sur un seul passage et examinent des problèmes relevant strictement de la *Quellenforschung*¹³. Pour notre part, sans laisser totalement de côté une dimension dont on ne saurait faire abstraction, c'est une autre approche, plus globale et plus littéraire, que nous privilégierons. Nous montrerons que le choix de Florus de maintenir une unité de ton et d'esprit entre son récit et ses discours le pousse à sélectionner certains propos en particulier, lui dicte la façon de les présenter et le conduit à les altérer ou, plus rarement qu'on ne le pense parfois¹⁴, à en inventer de nouveaux. L'usage de procédés précis, que nous repérerons et analyserons, met ainsi en valeur plusieurs principes idéologiques centraux pour son œuvre comme pour l'époque — sous Hadrien ou Antonin le Pieux — à laquelle il écrit¹⁵.

* * *

L. BESSONE, *Ideologia e datazione della Epitoma di Floro*, *GFF* 2 (1979), p. 33-36; ID., *art. cit.* (n. 8), p. 85-87; J.M. ALONSO-NUÑEZ, *Floro y los historiadores contemporaneos*, *ACD* 42 (2006), p. 117-118.

¹³ À notre connaissance, seuls deux passages ont retenu l'attention de la critique: J.-Y. GUILLAUMIN, *La reddition de Vercingétorix selon les auteurs anciens*, *Latomus* 44 (1985), p. 743-750, et P. JAL, *Les dernières paroles de Vercingétorix*, *REL* 67 (1989), p. 134-139, se sont penchés sur les dernières paroles prêtées à Vercingétorix [15]; E.S. MCCARTNEY, *On Aiming Weapons at the Face*, *CPh* 24 (1929), p. 203-204, T.F. CARNEY, *Pila at the Battle of Pharsalia*, *CR* 8 (1958), p. 11-13, et surtout Fr. PASCHOU, *La bataille de Pharsale. Quelques problèmes de détail*, *Historia* 30 (1981), p. 184-187, se sont interrogés sur le *faciem feri* de César avant Pharsale [17a]. Signalons par ailleurs que des paroles rapportées au discours indirect ont été l'objet d'enquêtes du même ordre: cf. J. MOLES, *Some 'Last Words' of M. Iunius Brutus*, *Latomus* 42 (1983), p. 775-779, à propos des *ultima uerba* de Brutus (Flor. II 17.11).

¹⁴ E.g. L. BESSONE, *op. cit.* (n. 8) p. 180, n. 11: «Il raro ricorso al discorso diretto costituisce per lo più indizio di sua elaborazione personale, senza riscontro in altre testimonianze». — Un coup d'œil au tableau figurant en annexe suffit à voir que, dans la plupart des cas, Florus participe d'une tradition plus large; quant aux passages pour lesquels nous ne possédons pas d'autres attestations, la prudence est de mise, car l'épitomateur peut s'appuyer sur une source que nous ignorons.

¹⁵ Les hypothèses d'une composition sous Auguste (malgré la tentative brillante de K.A. NEUHAUSEN, *Der überhörte 'Schwanengesang' der augusteischen Literatur: eine Rekonstruktion der Originalfassung (um 15 n.Chr.) des bisher dem 2. Jh. zugeordneten Geschichtswerkes des Florus*, *ACD* 30 [1994], p. 149-207) ou sous Trajan (A.F. VILLEMANN, *Notice de Florus, Abrégé de l'histoire romaine*, Paris 1833, p. 81; P. ZANCAN, *Floro e Livio*, Padoue 1942, p. 69) sont à peu près abandonnées aujourd'hui. Les chercheurs sont désormais partisans d'une composition à la fin du règne d'Hadrien (A. GARZETTI, *art. cit.* [n. 12]; P. JAL, *op. cit.* [n. 8], t. I, p. XLI-XLIII, puis CIV-CXI; B. VENERONI, *art. cit.* [n. 8], p. 348; G. BRIZZI, *Imitari coepit Annibalem (Flor. I, XXII, 55): apporti catoniani alla concezione storiografica di Floro?*, *Latomus* 43 [1984],

1. UNITÉ FORMELLE ENTRE LE RÉCIT ET LES DISCOURS DIRECTS

Dans un passage devenu fameux, Trogue-Pompée reprochait à Salluste et à Tite-Live de prêter à leurs personnages leur propre façon de s'exprimer :

Quam (*sc.* orationem) obliquam Pompeius Trogus exposuit, quoniam in Liuiio et in Sallustio reprehendit quod contiones directas pro sua oratione operi suo inserendo historiae modum excesserint

Trogue Pompée a présenté ce [discours] au style indirect, puisqu'il reproche à Tite-Live et à Salluste d'avoir dépassé la mesure, dans le domaine historiographique, en intégrant dans leurs ouvrages des discours directs écrits d'après leur propre style¹⁶.

En fait, cette unité de ton entre les discours et le récit est une pratique habituelle chez les historiens anciens, constatable par n'importe quel lecteur¹⁷ : c'est uniquement quand elle manque de mesure (*modus*) qu'elle devient blâmable.

Il ne nous appartient pas de juger si Florus montre dans ce domaine la modération exigée par Trogue-Pompée, mais force est de constater que les traits stylistiques les plus saillants de sa narration se retrouvent dans les passages au discours direct. Il en va ainsi, par exemple, de son goût pour les tropes, mais il serait vain de commenter de façon exhaustive toutes les figures de style que nous avons relevées : comparaison [6], métaphores [6, 24], anadiploses [1, 7], anaphore [14], antépiphore [14],

p. 424-431; M. HOSE, *op. cit.* [n. 9], p. 56-61; B. BALDWIN, *art. cit.* [n. 8], p. 139-142; F. GIORDANO, *art. cit.* [n. 8]; J.M. ALONSO-NUÑEZ, *Drei Autoren von Geschichtabrissen der römischen Kaiserzeit: Florus, Iustinus, Orosius, Latomus* 54 [1995], p. 347-348, critique certains arguments de ces chercheurs, mais semble pencher pour la même période : ID., *art. cit.* [n. 12] p. 117-118) ou au début de celui d'Antonin (L. HAVAS, *Zur Geschichtskonzeption des Florus, Klio* 66 [1984], p. 590-598; ID., *Zum aussenpolitischen Hintergrund der Entstehung der Epitome des Florus, ACD* 24 [1988], p. 57-60; ID., *Floriana, Athenaeum* 67 [1989], *praes.* p. 28-32; L. BESSONE, *art. cit.* [n. 12] p. 38-48; ID., *art. cit.* [n. 8], p. 97-102, suivi désormais par P. JAL, *art. cit.* [n. 8], p. 903); on signalera de toute façon que, même si Florus écrit au début du règne d'Antonin : (a) celui-ci commence par poursuivre la politique de son prédécesseur, (b) Florus reste marqué par l'idéologie dominante sous Hadrien.

¹⁶ Justin XXXVIII 3.10.

¹⁷ Sur ce principe, déjà souvent souligné par la critique, cf. J. DANGEL, *Les discours chez Tacite, Ktema* 14, 1989, p. 291. — Le décalage entre le contenu du discours direct et la qualité du locuteur est pourtant si grand chez Florus qu'il a parfois étonné ses lecteurs : ainsi L. BESSONE, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 81, n. 29, à propos d'un Germain maniant la métaphore, la prosopopée et l'allitération [24], parle de «un preziosismo affatto implausibile in bocca a un Barbaro».

chiasmes [5, 15], énaillages [15, 16, 18, 22], allitération [24], paronomases [14, 17], polyptotes [5, 15], antanaclase [21], prosopopée [24], autant de procédés qui émaillent le récit lui-même¹⁸.

Arrêtons-nous plutôt sur deux aspects: l'attention portée au rythme et la recherche de la *breuitas*.

1.1. *Aspect prosodique*

Le soin avec lequel Florus traite le rythme de ses phrases, et notamment les clausules¹⁹, semble avoir induit une légère modification dans un aphorisme retranscrit par l'historien.

Au moment de rapporter les derniers mots de Scipion à Thapsus [18], le narrateur précise, à titre exceptionnel²⁰, qu'il rapporte scrupuleusement les paroles du général (*hoc ipsum*): *Bene se habet imperator*. Le fait est que les mots sont les mêmes que dans la tradition livienne; sans doute les y a-t-il trouvés tels quels — cette déclaration devait être très connue, car même l'auteur des *Periochae*, en dépit de l'espace réduit dont il dispose, a soin de la transcrire au discours direct²¹. Toutefois, il modifie, presque insensiblement, l'ordre de ces paroles, puisqu'on a partout ailleurs: *Imperator se bene habet*. Or cette dernière formule souffre de l'inconvénient de comporter une clausule héroïque (-uu-o) que Florus évite tout au long de son œuvre²²; il lui substitue donc une cadence (-u-uo) qui, pour n'être pas sa favorite, est tout de même mieux admise par lui²³, et qui est la

¹⁸ Sur la fréquence de ces figures de style dans le récit florien, cf. Sv. LILLIEDAHL, *Florusstudien. Beiträge zu Kenntnis des rhetorischen Stils der silbernen Latinität*, Lund 1928, p. 48-64; R. SIEGER, *art. cit.* (n. 9), *praes.* p. 103-108 (qui, au détour d'une phrase, p. 104, constate l'identité de l'écriture narrative et de l'écriture discursive de Florus); P. JAL, *op. cit.* (n. 8), t. I, p. XLIII-LIII.

¹⁹ Cf. Sv. LILLIEDAHL, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 82-95; P. JAL, *op. cit.* (n. 8), t. I, p. LVII-LXIX; J. AUMONT, *Métrique et stylistique des clausules dans la prose latine, de Cicéron à Pline le Jeune et de César à Florus*, Paris 1996, p. 283 et n. 3.

²⁰ De fait, les historiens latins insistent rarement sur l'authenticité des paroles qu'ils retranscrivent au style direct (Tac., *Ann.* XIV 59.3; *Hist.* III 39.1, use cependant à deux reprises de la formule *ipsa uerba referam*; sur ces passages, cf. R. UTARD, *op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 11-12; aussi Suet., *Cal.* 29.1).

²¹ Florus écrit lui aussi la formule au discours direct, alors que le dialogue avait commencé au discours indirect: c'est là un moyen de théâtraliser l'épisode (sur ce procédé de l'historiographie impériale, cf. A. LAMBERT, *op. cit.* [n. 4], p. 38-45 [à propos de Tite-Live]; R. UTARD, *art. cit.* [n. 3] p. 78-80) et de mettre en valeur la *sententia* de Scipion.

²² Sv. LILLIEDAHL, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 86-87; P. JAL, *op. cit.* (n. 8), t. I, p. LXII.

²³ Sv. LILLIEDAHL, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 92-94; P. JAL, *op. cit.* (n. 8), t. I, p. LXIII.

seule envisageable étant donné le peu de possibilités alternatives qui s'offrent à lui avec ces mots.

Dans cet exemple, Florus sacrifie seulement l'ordre des mots à son propre goût. La recherche de la *breuitas* amène parfois des modifications plus profondes.

1.2. *Breuitas*

1.2.1. Une technique d'écriture ...

La *breuitas*, si emblématique de notre auteur, laisse partout son empreinte²⁴ : les passages au discours direct les plus brefs comportent 2 mots [3, 8, 11, 16b, 18], alors que le plus long [6] en comprend 20 seulement, la moyenne s'établissant à 7, 4²⁵. Contrairement à un Salluste ainsi²⁶, Florus ne réserve pas le discours direct aux interventions les plus étendues, puisque discours directs et indirects présentent à cet égard les mêmes caractéristiques. Négligeant les *contiones* et les *hortationes* au style «étiré et coulant» (*tracta et fluens oratio*) que Cicéron voyait alterner, dans l'historiographie, avec la narration²⁷, au profit des formules frappantes et des dialogues percutants²⁸, il met en valeur les déclarations les plus sèches. Les propos des personnages font dès lors

²⁴ Cf. Flor., *Proem.* 3: *breui in quasi tabella*; cette caractéristique, qui avait déjà frappé Pétrarque, *Fam.* III 18.5, ou Juste Lipse, *De Electis*, II 5 (*apud* J.E. LEMAIRE, *Luci Annaei Flori Epitome rerum Romanarum*, Paris 1827, p. 6), est relevée par tous les commentateurs de Florus: R. SIEGER, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 100-103; P. JAL, *op. cit.* (n. 8), t. I, p. XLIX-LI.

²⁵ Et ce en comptant les dialogues comme un seul discours; autrement, la moyenne eût été plus basse encore. Chez Tite-Live, les discours directs brefs, sans être, et de loin, aussi lapidaires que ceux de Florus, sont également les plus nombreux (H. BORNECQUE, *Tite-Live*, Paris 1933, p. 157; J. DANGEL, *op. cit.* [n. 4], p. 3), mais ils n'excluent pas la présence simultanée de discours plus développés.

²⁶ Cf. Ch. HYART, *Les origines du style indirect en latin et son emploi jusqu'à l'époque de César*, Bruxelles 1954, p. 203-204; N.P. MILLER, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 47-48.

²⁷ Cic., *Or.* 66.

²⁸ K. GRIES, *Livy's Use of Dramatic Speech*, *AJPh* 70 (1949), p. 118-141, et, à sa suite, N.P. MILLER, *Dramatic Speech in Tacitus*, *AJPh* 85 (1964), p. 279-296, adoptent la typologie suivante pour étudier les discours (directs et indirects): *contio* (adresse formelle à un groupe) – dialogue – *dicta* (aphorismes) – *formulae* (oracle, prière, formule juridique) – messages (lettres et autres courriers). En appliquant cette grille d'analyse, imparfaite (comme les auteurs le reconnaissent eux-mêmes, certains propos pourraient entrer dans deux catégories différentes), mais commode, on observe, chez Florus, par comparaison avec les autres historiens, une surreprésentation des *dicta* et, à l'inverse, une sous-représentation des *contiones*, des *formulae* et des messages.

concurrence avec un récit lui-même constellé de *sententiae*²⁹, et semblent avoir été retenus avant tout en vertu de leur caractère saisissant³⁰.

Les discours, s'ils sont parfois de même longueur que dans les autres sources [9, 18, 21], voire, exceptionnellement, allongés [6]³¹, sont donc, la plupart du temps, raccourcis. En général, les dialogues sont tout simplement abrégés par rapport à leur source probable, sans que leur substance soit modifiée, comme pour ceux qui concernent Tarquin l'Ancien et Névius [1]³², Mucius et Porsenna [2] ou bien encore Arioviste et des députés romains [14]³³.

Il arrive que l'abrègement du discours soit une conséquence secondaire de la condensation du récit lui-même. Le *daimôn* qui apparaît à Brutus, ainsi, se manifeste, dans le reste de la tradition³⁴, à deux reprises. Au moment où le général républicain s'apprête à quitter l'Asie, une forme lui apparaît en songe et lui dit (au style direct) : «Je suis ton mauvais génie;

²⁹ Le goût de Florus pour les *sententiae* a été relevé à de maintes reprises: cf. e.g. O. ROSSBACH, *art. cit.* (n. 7), col. 2763; R. SIEGER, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 107-108; V. ALBA, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 139.

³⁰ Il existe, de ce point de vue, quelques points communs entre Florus et cet autre adepte de la forme brève qu'est Cornélius Népos (Ch. HYART, *op. cit.* [n. 26], p. 131-132, note ainsi que les rares et brefs passages de Cornélius Népos au style direct semblent «extraits d'un recueil d'apophtegmes»).

³¹ Alors que Pyrrhus – ou, selon d'autres, Cinéas – comparait le peuple romain à une hydre, par sa capacité à se régénérer, le roi épirote ajoute, chez le seul Florus, qu'en tant que descendant d'Hercule, il doit faire face au même péril que son ancêtre. Cet ajout érudit est bien dans le goût de l'auteur de la dissertation *Virgile, orateur ou poète* (e.g. V.O.A.P. 2.1-4), un certain Florus, que tous les chercheurs (pour les arguments les plus anciens, synthèse dans E. MALCOVATI, *art. cit.* [n. 7], p. 80-82; récemment B. BALDWIN, *art. cit.* [n. 8], p. 134-137; M. HOSE, *op. cit.* [n. 9], p. 53-54, puis 61; L. BESSONE, *op. cit.* [n. 8], p. 132-150) identifient aujourd'hui avec l'historien.

³² La dépendance à la tradition livienne paraît hors de doute: cf. L. BESSONE, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 172. D'après V. ALBA, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 55, Florus, extrêmement respectueux de la religion dans l'ensemble de son œuvre, agit ici «como un compilador impasible, que traslada una tradición», ce qui expliquerait la sobriété stylistique du passage au discours direct, si on le rapproche des autres que contient l'*Epitomé*.

³³ La comparaison est aisée car Florus dérive probablement du *Bellum Gallicum*: même si L. BESSONE, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 205-206, suivant en cela G. ZECCHINI, *Cassio Dione e la guerra gallica di Cesare*, Milan 1978, p. 115-123, juge que Florus suit un abrégé de Tite-Live, et non les *Commentaires*, le ton, nettement philocésarien (G. ZECCHINI, *op. cit.*, p. 118 et n. 32, en convient) et les mots mêmes choisis par Florus (cf. P. JAL, *op. cit.* [n. 8], t. I, p. 103, n. 6: «Florus reprend presque textuellement les expressions de César»), laissent penser que, directement ou indirectement, Florus se fonde sur le récit de César (cf. aussi, en faveur de cette hypothèse, O. ROSSBACH, *art. cit.* [n. 7], col. 2765; E. MALCOVATI, *art. cit.* [n. 7], p. 85, n. 1; P. ZANCAN, *op. cit.* [n. 8], p. 34; E. SALOMONE GAGGIERO, *Floro. Epitome di Storia Romana*, Milan 1981, p. 49-50).

³⁴ Les sources sont rassemblées dans le tableau figurant en annexe.

tu me reverras à Philippes»; le spectre, présage de la défaite, visite Brutus une seconde fois au moment du combat décisif. Florus fond ces deux épisodes en un seul [20]³⁵, survenant la veille de la bataille de Philippes: la seconde partie de la formule divinatoire disparaît donc, ce qui la rend plus vive et plus mystérieuse.

1.2.2. ... exempte de toute dimension pédagogique ...

L'obscurité, qui est parfois le corollaire de la *breuitas* de Florus³⁶, n'est d'ailleurs pas absente des passages en style direct. En la matière en tout cas, le but de l'historien n'est pas d'imprimer dans les esprits quelques connaissances élémentaires au moyen de phrases d'autant plus mémorables qu'elles sont plus courtes, à la manière d'un digeste³⁷.

En effet:

a) Florus ne se prive pas de modifier à sa guise les citations, même les plus célèbres, qu'il trouve dans les sources: la formule césarienne *ueni, uidi, uici*, au lieu d'être, comme partout ailleurs, soigneusement conservée au discours direct, est transposée au discours indirect, modifiée et dédoublée, comme si l'auteur se plaçait dans un cadre de rivalité littéraire implicite avec César: *uenit, percussit, abscessit. Nec uana de se praedicatio est Caesaris, ante hostem uictum esse quam uisum*³⁸.

³⁵ Ce procédé de condensation se trouve à d'autres reprises dans son œuvre: il fond, par exemple, la première et la deuxième guerre de Macédoine en un seul récit (I 23; cf. aussi L. BESSONE, *op. cit.* [n. 8], p. 189-190).

³⁶ E.g. E.S. FORSTER, *Lucius Annaeus Florus. Epitome of Roman History*, Londres-Cambridge (Mass.) 1929, p. XI.

³⁷ La critique s'accorde d'ailleurs aujourd'hui sur le caractère non scolaire de l'*Epitome*: à plusieurs reprises, Florus prête à son lecteur des connaissances préalables nécessaires à la compréhension d'allusions parfois sibyllines (pour cet argument – et d'autres allant dans le même sens – cf. P. JAL, *op. cit.* [n. 8], t. I, p. XXXVI-XXXIX; L. BESSONE, *art. cit.* [n. 12], p. 36 et n. 16; ID., *art. cit.* [n. 8], p. 85-86; ID., *Alla riscoperta di Floro*, A&R 39 (1994), p. 81-82; M. HOSE, *op. cit.* [n. 9], p. 62-65).

³⁸ Flor. II 13.63, altère la formule originale, que Suet., *Caes.* 37.4 (*ueni, uidi, uici*), Plut., *Caes.* 50.3-4 et App., *Ciu.* II 91.384 (ἤλθον, εἶδον, ἐνίκησα pour les deux; Plutarque souligne le bel effet produit par les désinences et la concision des verbes latins, ce qui garantit l'exactitude de la formule suétonienne) rapportent tous au discours direct. J. GASCOU, *Suétone historien*, Rome 1984, p. 155 et n. 223 (aussi p. 157), juge que Flor. II 13.63 transforme la sobre *sententia* césarienne «au profit d'un concetto qui devait lui paraître plus brillant»; de fait, notre auteur, qui semble avoir pris plaisir au jeu de l'*imitatio/aemulatio* avec Horace ou Virgile (cf. L. HAVAS, *Réminiscences d'Horace chez Florus*, ACD 29 [1993], p. 53-77; L. BESSONE, *op. cit.* [n. 8], p. 146-147), a pu vouloir rivaliser avec cet autre maître de la *breuitas* qu'était César.

b) La façon dont est rapporté un calembour de Sextus Pompée invitant à son bord Antoine et Octavien au moment de la paix de Misène [21] est également révélatrice. Le futur vaincu de Nauloque fait allusion à ses *carenae*, terme qui désigne bien sûr son navire, mais aussi le quartier de Rome dans lequel se situe la demeure familiale, confisquée par Antoine. Tout le sel de l'épisode provient donc de l'audace de Sextus, qui n'hésite pas à rappeler une vérité gênante au triumvir. Pour être certains que le lecteur la comprenne, Plutarque, Dion Cassius et Velleius Paterculus se croient tenus d'éclaircir toutes les données implicites de l'anecdote. Voici par exemple comment Velleius, qui écrit pourtant peu de temps après les événements et en direction d'un public familier de ces épisodes, rapporte la périclète :

... cum in naui Caesaremque et Antonium cena exciperet, dixit in carinis suis se cenam dare, referens hoc dictum ad loci nomen in quo paterna domus ab Antonio possidebatur

Comme Sextus Pompée recevait César et Antoine à dîner à son bord, il déclara qu'il donnait un dîner dans ses carènes, se référant là au nom donné au quartier dans lequel la demeure de son père était occupée par Antoine³⁹.

Florus, pour sa part, suppose une connaissance préalable de son lecteur que ne lui prêtent pas les autres historiens, puisqu'il n'explique à aucun moment qu'Antoine s'était accaparé la villa. Comme cette mention est présente dans toutes les autres œuvres historiques rapportant cette anecdote⁴⁰, y compris chez l'auteur du *De Viris illustribus*, si proche de Florus qu'une source commune aux deux est difficilement contestable⁴¹, c'est là un choix délibéré de la part de notre historien.

L'exemple de Sextus Pompée pourrait être généralisé à l'ensemble des discours de l'*Epitomé* : notre historien s'abstient presque toujours de fournir les explications qui accompagnent ailleurs ces citations⁴².

³⁹ Vell. Pat. II 77.1.

⁴⁰ Il est d'ailleurs possible que Florus dépende parfois de Velleius (L. HAVAS, *art. cit.* [n. 38], p. 77, n. 34, ne l'exclut pas; J. Hellegouarc'h, dans son édition de Velleius Paterculus [CUF], souligne que dans ce passage, Florus utilise pratiquement les mêmes termes que Velleius; L. BESSONE, *op. cit.* [n. 8], p. 217-218, conclut sur un *non liquet*).

⁴¹ Cf. L. BESSONE, *Di alcuni errori di Floro*, *RFIC* 106 (1978), p. 421-431; ID., *art. cit.* [n. 8], p. 110; ID., *Fra storiografia e biografia: Floro e l'età regia*, *ACD* 30 (1994), p. 224-225 et *passim*.

⁴² Pour des passages dans lesquels les autres sources dont nous disposons commentent les discours que Florus livre à l'état brut, cf. e.g. Velleius Paterculus [21]; Plutarque [2], [6], [11], [21]; Appien [6]; Dion Cassius [15], [21]; *DVI* [21].

1.2.3. ... qui va parfois de pair avec le projet de fond de l'historien

Si la *breuitas* qui imprègne les passages étudiés est exempte de toute démarche pédagogique et va même à son encontre, il reste que la dimension stylistique ne suffit pas à rendre compte à elle seule de l'emploi du discours direct. Celui-ci est peut-être sous-tendu par le dessein idéologique de l'historien.

Chez Florus ainsi, quand César engage le marin qui le transporte à Oricum à ne rien craindre, il déclare simplement en guise d'explication: *Caesarem uehis* («C'est César que tu transportes») [16], alors que nos autres sources ajoutent: «et la fortune de César»⁴³. La modification de Florus abrège et rend plus marquante la déclaration du futur vainqueur⁴⁴. Mais, au-delà de cette recherche de la *breuitas*, il y a peut-être aussi quelque malice de la part de notre historien, notoirement hostile à César dans son second livre⁴⁵. Au fond, à en croire le grand homme, sa présence seule suffirait à assurer la sûreté du *nauta*, au mépris du rôle de la *fortuna*. Or, dans le récit qu'il fait de la guerre civile, le narrateur vient de souligner (II 13.29, 13.30, 13.35), et soulignera encore (II 13.61, 13.78) à de nombreuses reprises l'importance de la *fortuna* dans le succès de César⁴⁶: dans ces conditions, la phrase tronquée du passager, que le lecteur érudit visé par Florus saura compléter, apparaît en contradiction avec le reste du récit et dénonce la superbe d'un homme qui prête une trop grande valeur à sa propre personne et à ses mérites⁴⁷. L'usage

⁴³ Sauf D.C. XLI 46.3, qui donne la même version que Florus, mais qui explique immédiatement que cette déclaration de César provient de sa grande confiance en sa fortune, peut-être à la suite d'un oracle qui lui fut rendu: il abrège donc, comme Florus, la formule livienne, mais c'est, contrairement à l'épitomateur, pour l'expliciter (sur cette communauté de sources entre Florus et Dion Cassius, et sur le choix que fait ce dernier, cf. N. BERTI, *La guerra di Cesare contro Pompeo. Commento storico a Cassio Dione. Libro XLI*, Milan 1988, p. 114-116).

⁴⁴ O. ROSSBACH, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. LVII, juge ainsi la formule florienne «breuis et efficax».

⁴⁵ Cf. e.g. L. BESSONE, *Ottaviano, Augusto e il regnum dei Caesares*, ACD 40-41 (2004-2005), p. 305-324.

⁴⁶ Cette dépendance de César à la *fortuna* est d'autant plus grande que les défaites de son rival sont, elles, souvent dues à son manque de chance: cf. à cet égard F. CUPAIUOLO, *Caso, fato e fortuna nel pensiero di alcuni storici latini: spunti e appunti*, BStudLat 14 (1984), p. 35, n. 118: «Floro si compiace di far dipendere Cesare e Pompeo ambedue da Fortuna», citant Flor. II 13.14; 13.61.

⁴⁷ Tout au long de son œuvre, Florus indique en effet que deux forces essentielles sont à l'œuvre dans les destinées humaines: la *fortuna* et la *uirtus*. Si César ne croit pas devoir exciper de sa *fortuna* (et c'était déjà l'image qu'il voulait donner de lui dans les *Commentaires*: cf. M. RAMBAUD, *op. cit.* [n. 5], p. 258-263), c'est donc qu'il accorde un grand prix à sa *uirtus*; cf. aussi *infra* (n. 49).

du discours direct met en contradiction les allégations de César avec les faits rapportés dans le récit et suggère chez lui une forme de vanité.

Les abrègements que Florus apporte aux discours directs n'ont donc peut-être pas seulement une valeur esthétique: il convient à présent d'explorer l'emploi idéologique que Florus en fait et de mettre au jour les procédés historiographiques qui les sous-tendent.

2. UN CONTINUUM IDÉOLOGIQUE

2.1. *La louange du populus Romanus*

Une première étude de vocabulaire suffit à démontrer la cohérence de ces citations avec les conceptions théoriques qui structurent l'ouvrage. Pour résumer d'une phrase le projet de Florus en effet, on pourrait dire que l'*Epitomé* donne à voir une «biographie du peuple romain»⁴⁸ à forte tonalité laudative, dans laquelle la *uirtus* et la *fortuna* sont les deux forces principales qui régissent le cours des événements⁴⁹. Or tous ces thèmes reviennent constamment dans les *orationes rectae*, qui font allusion au hasard du sort [5, 6, 9, 13⁵⁰] et à la *uirtus* [2, 12, 15].

L'omniprésence du peuple romain dans les discours est encore plus notable [4, 5⁵¹, 11, 14, 22, 23, 24]. Elle est en outre renforcée par le fait que tous les propos des *externi*, qu'ils s'adressent à des compatriotes ou à des Romains, font référence à ces derniers: comme l'ensemble de l'ouvrage, le discours direct est romanocentré.

De plus, l'apparente diversité des locuteurs se fond dans cette univocité idéologique:

⁴⁸ Nous reprenons ici une expression de M. HOSE, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 80, à partir notamment de Flor., *proem.* 4-8; sur le rôle central du peuple romain, cf. *inter alios* O. ROSSBACH, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. LI; J.M. ALONSO-NUÑEZ, *Les conceptions politiques de Florus*, *LEC* 54 (1986), p. 179.

⁴⁹ Flor., *proem.* 2: *Tot in laboribus periculis iactatus est, ut ad constituendum eius imperium contendisse Virtus et Fortuna uideantur* («[Le peuple romain] fut aux prises avec tant de peines et de dangers que, pour constituer son Empire, Courage et Fortune semblent avoir rivalisé»); cette phrase, qui reprend une idée présente de très longue date à Rome, est l'une de celles qui ont le plus attiré l'attention de la critique: cf. en particulier les synthèses de F. CUPAUIOLO, *art. cit.* (n. 46), p. 32-35; L. BESSONE, *art. cit.* (n. 8), p. 115-117; M. HOSE, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 96-103.

⁵⁰ Sur la place de la *fortuna* dans ce dernier passage, cf. F. CUPAUIOLO, *art. cit.* (n. 46), p. 33.

⁵¹ V. ALBA, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 182, n. 285, esquissait déjà, au sujet de ces mots, une interprétation allant dans notre sens: «Floro *selecciona* esta noticia de fuentes anteriores ..., no con inercia, sino porque concuerda con el sentido ético-político de su libro» (italiques de l'auteur).

a) Les déclarations des *hostes* dont l'image est la plus favorable, et dont la parole est donc celle qui a le plus de poids aux yeux du lecteur, comme Pyrrhus ou Vercingétorix, se réduisent toujours en effet à une louange mécanique du peuple-roi [5, 6, 22] ou de son représentant [15]. Prêter ces éloges à des étrangers leur confère bien sûr une validité supérieure⁵².

b) Cela rejoint d'ailleurs un trait plus général du discours direct chez Florus : aucun des exemples que nous avons relevés ne donne à voir le point de vue loyalement — ou, du moins, vraisemblablement — rapporté des *hostes*⁵³. Dans d'autres ouvrages, l'*oratio recta* est pourtant parfois perçue par la critique comme le lieu où l'historien s'extrait le plus volontiers de sa propre vision du monde pour adopter le point de vue d'un tiers⁵⁴. Chez Florus, bien au contraire, quand le blâme supplante l'éloge dans les déclarations des *hostes*, l'invective n'a guère de portée. Elle est attribuée en effet à des barbares, constamment dépréciés⁵⁵, dont les discours relèvent de l'injure caractérisée [3, 24] et de la *superbia*. Ce défaut, l'un des plus graves (I 1.4 = *vulg.* I 7.4), se conjugue avec l'ignorance, puisque le nom des Romains est méconnu de ceux-là mêmes qui les prennent de haut [23; aussi 4]. La gloriole des

⁵² Ce procédé était déjà employé par César : cf. M. RAMBAUD, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 237.

⁵³ Sur ce point, cf. M. HOSE, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 113-114, qui remarque que chez Florus, contrairement à ce que l'on observe chez plusieurs autres historiens romains, les remises en cause de l'impérialisme romain relèvent du discours de l'historien lui-même, et non de celui de ses personnages : «Bei Florus ist die Romkritik jedoch ihrer prosopöietischen Maske entkleidet und so in den Rang historischer Faktizität gehoben».

⁵⁴ K. BÜCHNER, *Sallust*, Heidelberg 1980² [1960¹], p. 161, remarque ce trait au sujet de Salluste ; É. AUBRION, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 60, puis p. 522-546, à propos de Tacite. Songeons *e.g.* au discours de Critognatos dans Caes., *Gal.* VII 77.3-16 ; à la lettre de Mithridate dans Sall., *Hist.* IV fr. 69 (éd. B. Maurenbrecher) ; au discours des ambassadeurs macédoniens devant le conseil des Étoliens dans Liv. XXXI 29.4-16 ; au discours de Calgacus dans Tac., *Agr.* 30-32, puis, plus tard, au discours de Boudicca chez D.C. LXII 3.1-5. On peut aussi penser au fameux débat opposant César et Caton sur le sort qu'il convient de réserver aux complices de Catilina dans Sall., *Cat.* 51-52 : la position de l'historien est si peu évidente que les chercheurs s'interrogent encore sur la question de savoir s'il penche du côté de César, de Caton, ou s'il a voulu présenter deux aspects complémentaires et également estimables de la *Romanitas*.

⁵⁵ Sur la vision constamment négative du barbare chez Florus, et sa conformité avec la totalité des traits qui le constituent habituellement dans les sources littéraires anciennes, cf. Y.-A. DAUGÉ, *Le Barbare. Recherches sur la conception romaine de la barbarie et de la civilisation* (coll. Latomus 176), Bruxelles 1981, p. 268-272 ; aussi W. DEN BOER, *Some Minor Roman Historians*, Leyde 1972, p. 10-11 ; E. SALOMONE GAGGIERO, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 34-35 ; R. BICHLER, *Alpinarum gentium feritas. Eine Betrachtung zu Florus II 22*, *RGE* 15-16 (1987-1988), p. 15-26.

barbares qui, après des paroles si superbes, seront prestement vaincus, en devient grotesque⁵⁶, et le contraste qui naît de la juxtaposition d'une brève phrase narrative mettant en valeur la sérénité romaine avec une déclaration grandiloquente au discours direct produit un incontestable effet comique que confirme l'issue du combat [23]:

Vnus ducum ante aciem postulato silentio: «Qui uos estis?» inquit, responsum inuicem: «Romani gentium domini». Et ille «ita», inquit, «fiet, si nos uiceritis». Accepit omen Marcus Crassus. Illi statim ante aciem inmolato equo concepere uotum, ut caesorum extis ducum et litarent et uescerentur. Deos audisse crediderim: nec tubas sustinere potuerunt

Un de leurs chefs ayant demandé le silence avant la bataille: «Qui êtes-vous?» dit-il. On lui répondit: «Les Romains, les maîtres des nations». Et lui: «Il en sera ainsi, si vous arrivez à nous vaincre!» Marcus Crassus en accepta l'augure. Aussitôt, devant les lignes, ils immolèrent un cheval et firent le vœu d'offrir en sacrifice les entrailles des généraux et de s'en nourrir. C'est à croire que les dieux les entendirent, car ils ne purent même pas soutenir le son des trompettes.

Florus assortit parfois ces discours directs d'un commentaire ironique ou indigné qui les disqualifie encore plus [14].

Bref, en ce qui concerne l'image du peuple romain, le discours direct, loin de produire une polyphonie présentant un réel contre-point, sensé et valable, aux vues des Romains, vient souligner le dessein d'ensemble de l'historien.

Il serait aisé de montrer que chaque citation se conforme à ce schéma. Dans les limites de cet article, nous préférons insister sur la mise en œuvre de deux autres thèmes: le pacifisme de Florus et son horreur des guerres civiles, ce qui nous conduira à relever de nouvelles caractéristiques de son emploi du discours direct.

2.2. *Le pacifisme de Florus*

La position de Florus en politique extérieure a donné lieu à plusieurs études qui divergent parfois sur des points de détail. On s'accorde cependant à reconnaître son hostilité à une stratégie d'expansion agressive, à laquelle est préféré un idéal de *pax* et de tranquillité⁵⁷. L'apaisement

⁵⁶ Sur le côté ridicule des barbares dans l'*Epitomé*, cf. L. BESSONE, *op. cit.* [n. 8], p. 63; p. 74, n. 10.

⁵⁷ Cf. A. GARZETTI, *art. cit.* (n. 12), p. 152-153; P. JAL, *Nature et signification politique de l'ouvrage de Florus*, REL 43 (1965), p. 376-383; W. DEN BOER, *op. cit.* (n. 55),

qu'il prône dans le domaine extérieur sort renforcé de passages dans lesquels il utilise des procédés comme le pastiche, l'écho et l'altération.

2.2.1. Le pastiche

Le pastiche, tout d'abord, emprunte sa syntaxe et son vocabulaire à un registre différent du récit habituel. La lettre⁵⁸ d'Attale par laquelle le monarque lègue son royaume aux Romains [11] en fournit le seul exemple chez Florus. Certains critiques⁵⁹ ont considéré que cette lettre était rapportée au discours direct par souci d'authenticité, Florus traduisant approximativement le document original (*OGI* 338). En cela, il se rapprocherait de la pratique de certains de ses prédécesseurs qui s'attachaient à restituer directement une formule officielle de type juridique, religieuse ou diplomatique, par goût pour ce que l'on pourrait appeler une histoire antiquaire⁶⁰. Pourtant, à nos yeux, deux éléments sont de nature à nuancer cette interprétation :

- d'une part, Florus ne met pas en valeur l'exactitude de sa prétendue citation, qui, présentée de façon anodine, peut dès lors passer inaperçue;

p. 13; L. BESSONE, *art. cit.* (n. 12), p. 45-46; ID., *art. cit.* (n. 8), p. 100-101; S. FEIN, *Die Beziehungen der Kaiser Trajan und Hadrian zu den litterati* (*Bza* 26), Stuttgart-Leipzig 1994, p. 102-103.

⁵⁸ Un historien comme Cornélius Népos avait l'habitude de garder les lettres au style direct (Nep., *Epam.* 8.3-5; *Them.* 9.2-4, et Ch. HYART, *op. cit.* [n. 26], p. 131), mais chez Florus, la pratique n'a rien de systématique (cf. ainsi Flor. I 28.10: lettre de Persée à Paul-Émile, rapportée sous forme narrativisée).

⁵⁹ O. ROSSBACH, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 85 («Patet a Floro prima testamenti verba memorari»); E. SALOMONE GAGGIERO, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 213, n. 3, se déclarent ainsi en faveur d'une imitation par Florus de la lettre officielle d'Attale; d'après R. SIEGER, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 104, en revanche, Florus feint de suivre le testament d'Attale, uniquement pour rendre sa narration plus vivante («Fl[orus] sich den Anschein gibt, Attalus' Testament wörtlich wiederzugeben; auch das dient nur der Verlebendigung»).

⁶⁰ Cf. *e.g.* Thuc. V 47 (traité de paix et d'alliance entre Athènes et d'autres cités; sur cet aspect de cet auteur, cf. Ch. HYART, *op. cit.* [n. 26], p. 169); Caton l'Ancien (Gell., *NA* V 3.7, rapporte qu'il intégra son propre discours *Pro Rhodiensibus* à ses *Origines*); Claudius Quadrigarius *apud* Gell., *NA* III 8.8 (lettre de consuls à Pyrrhus); Liv. I 26.6 (formule légale); XXX 43.3 (formule utilisée pour le vote); XXXVI 2.3-5 (vœu à Jupiter); sur cette facette de l'écriture livienne, cf. K. GRIES, *art. cit.* (n. 28), p. 125-126; A.H. MACDONALD, *The Style of Livy*, *JRS* 47 (1957), p. 156-157. — Le discours indirect, utilisé de longue date dans le droit, pouvait au demeurant remplir la même fonction: cf. à cet égard Ch. HYART, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 137-150, et R. UTARD, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 19-24.

- d'autre part, cette hypothèse s'appuie en partie sur une tournure insolite (*haec fuerunt*), qui est souvent vue comme un hellénisme, alors qu'il peut s'agir d'une simple corruption du texte⁶¹.

Il nous semble par conséquent que l'emploi du discours direct répond à d'autres considérations. Au fond, plutôt que les formules hellénistiques d'Attale, c'est le style juridique *romain* que Florus imite, avec l'impératif futur *esto* — qui ne pourrait, par définition, se trouver dans un discours indirect ou dans le récit. L'adoption de la langue juridique en discours direct rejoint une préoccupation d'ordre idéologique (valoriser une expansion romaine fondée sur le bon droit et non sur la force) que le narrateur explicite: Rome, du temps de sa gloire, s'accrut *non quidem bello, nec armis, sed, quod aequius, testamenti iure*⁶². La dimension archéologique (retranscrire la formulation exactement adoptée par Attale) paraît en revanche secondaire, voire inexistante.

2.2.2. Échos

Comme nous l'avons vu, les discours des barbares sont stéréotypés et tombent dans la sauvagerie [24] ou le ridicule [23]. À cet égard, Vercingétorix fait figure d'exception, puisque ses paroles devant César vainqueur sont empreintes de noblesse et de grandeur [15]. Nulle part ailleurs on ne trouve pareille déclaration. Il est difficile de savoir si Florus a totalement inventé les mots de l'Arverne⁶³, s'il les tient d'une tradition historique extra-césarienne découlant d'un témoin oculaire direct⁶⁴ ou

⁶¹ La seconde partie du passage (*In bonis regiis haec fuerunt*) a longtemps été considérée comme une partie de la lettre du roi, *fuerunt* étant dès lors une sorte de «parfait épistolaire» (R.S. FORSTER, *op. cit.* [n. 36] p. 158; P. HAINSSSELIN & H. WATELET, *Velleius Paterculus et Florus. Histoire romaine*, Paris 1932, *ad loc.*; P. JAL, *op. cit.* [n. 8], t. I, p. 82, n. 2) annonçant le contenu des donations, et décalquant la formule de *OGI* 338; *contra* D.R. SHACKLETON BAILEY, *Textual Notes on Lesser Latin Historians*, *HSPH* 85 (1981), p. 173, et W.S. WATT, *Textual Notes on Nepos, Florus, Justin*, *Philologus* 145 (2001), p. 101, qui jugent avec de sérieux arguments qu'il s'agit de nouveau de mots assumés par le narrateur (cf. déjà en ce sens N.E. LEMAIRE, *op. cit.* [n. 24], p. 201), dans lequel il faudrait lire un mot comme «*populi*» au lieu de *haec*, pour expliciter les *bona regia* (les peuples tombant sous la domination de Rome constitueraient l'essentiel des biens légués par Attale).

⁶² Sur ce point, cf. P. JAL, *art. cit.* (n. 57), p. 380.

⁶³ Cf. en ce sens O. ROSSBACH, *art. cit.* (n. 7), col. 2764-2765; E. SALOMONE GAGGIERO, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 266, n. 33; L. BESSONE, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 75-76, puis p. 180, n. 11.

⁶⁴ J.-Y. GUILLAUMIN, *art. cit.* (n. 13), insiste ainsi sur le fait que la version de Florus n'est ni invraisemblable, ni incompatible avec celles des autres historiens que nous connaissons; P. JAL, *art. cit.* (n. 13), p. 137, juge d'ailleurs possible un emprunt à Tite-Live.

encore d'un autre genre de sources, comme une pièce de théâtre⁶⁵. Toujours est-il que le choix même qu'il opère est significatif, non seulement de son goût esthétique⁶⁶, mais aussi de sa perception de la conquête. Par son attitude en effet, Vercingétorix rehausse la valeur des Gaulois, assez civilisés pour qu'il vaille la peine de les soumettre — à l'inverse des Germains, dont le chef Arioviste apparaît comme un être orgueilleux et indomptable [14]. Les Germains, contrairement aux Gaulois, ne sauraient être réduits en province sans danger pour l'empire⁶⁷, comme le confirmeront le désastre de Varus (II 30.29-36)⁶⁸ et les cruelles paroles qu'adressera, au discours direct, un Germain au cadavre du *patronus* qu'il vient de mutiler [24].

Dans les lignes consacrées à la guerre des Gaules, les déclarations d'Arioviste et de Vercingétorix sont les seules au discours direct; elles se répondent et confortent la vision du monde de l'historien, distinguant un univers voué à la sauvagerie d'un autre dans lequel la civilisation romaine est appelée à s'épanouir. Par la suite, l'orgueil du Germain anonyme [24] rappellera celui d'Arioviste. Les discours directs sont donc construits en écho pour servir la cause de Florus.

2.2.3. Altération

Le phénomène d'altération des sources s'observe à propos du débat entre M. Fabius Butéo et le Sénat carthaginois, au lendemain de la prise de Sagonte (218 a.C.) [7]. Voici comment Tite-Live (Appien donne la même version) présente le débat:

Tum Romanus, sinu ex toga facto: «Hic, inquit, uobis bellum et pacem portamus; utrum placet sumite». Sub hanc uocem haud minus

⁶⁵ G. ZECCHINI, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 121 et n. 4, n'exclut pas cette hypothèse, suggérée par J. HARMAND, *Une Campagne césarienne. Alésia*, Paris 1967, p. 340-341.

⁶⁶ Pour l'influence de la tragédie (en particulier sénèque) sur le style de Florus, l'ancienne étude de C. WEYMANN, *Sprachliches und Stilistisches zu Florus und Ambrosius*, *Archiv für lat. Lexik. und Gramm.* 14 (1906), *praes.* p. 43-49, contient beaucoup d'éléments intéressants; cf. aussi *supra* [n. 00].

⁶⁷ Flor. II 30.21: *Germaniam quoque utinam uincere tanti non putasset!* («Quant à la Germanie, elle aussi, si seulement [Auguste] n'avait pas attaché tant de prix à la vaincre!»).

⁶⁸ Surtout les §29-31 (cf. e.g. ce passage, à propos des Germains: *quasi uiolentiam barbarum lictoris uirgis et praeconis uoce posset inhibere*, «comme s'il pouvait réprimer la violence des Barbares par les verges d'un licteur et la voix d'un héraut!»); dans le même ordre d'idées, les Sarmates sont si barbares qu'ils ne comprennent même pas le sens du mot «paix» (II 29.20).

ferociter, daret utrum uellet, succlamatum est; et cum is iterum sinu effuso bellum dare dixisset, accipere se omnes responderunt et quibus acciperent animis iisdem se gestures

Alors le Romain, faisant un pli à sa toge: «Nous vous apportons ici, dit-il, la guerre ou la paix; prenez celle qui vous plaît». À ces mots, avec non moins de fierté, ils s'écrièrent: «Qu'il donne celle qu'il veut!» Fabius, laissant retomber le pli, dit qu'il donnait la guerre; tous répondirent qu'ils l'acceptaient et qu'ils la feraient avec une ardeur égale à celle avec laquelle ils l'acceptaient.

Florus, pour sa part, qui dépend à coup sûr de la tradition livienne⁶⁹, renverse les rôles et attribue non plus aux Romains, mais aux Puniques, la responsabilité immédiate⁷⁰ d'un conflit meurtrier:

Tergiversantibus Poenis, dux legationis «quae», inquit, «mora est?» Fabius «in hoc ego sinu bellum pacemque porto; utrum eligitis?» subclamantibus «bellum», «bellum igitur», inquit, «accipite». Et excusso in media curia togae gremio non sine horrore, quasi plane sinu bellum ferret, effudit

Comme les Carthaginois tergiversaient, «Qu'est-ce que ce retard? dit Fabius, le chef de l'ambassade, je porte ici dans le creux de ma toge la paix et la guerre; laquelle choisissez-vous?» Comme ils s'écriaient: «La guerre!» — «Recevez donc la guerre!», dit-il. Et, secouant en plein sénat le pli de devant de sa toge, non sans terrifier les assistants, comme s'il portait vraiment la guerre dans ce pli, il le laissa retomber.

Le discours direct place ainsi le mot fatal (*bellum*) dans la bouche des Carthaginois eux-mêmes. Transformer ces derniers en fauteurs de guerre est un bon moyen de valoriser la propension naturelle des Romains à la paix et à la conciliation, politique que Florus souhaite voir mise en œuvre à son époque. On peut supputer que, comme la démonstration en a été faite à propos d'autres passages de l'*Epitomé*, Florus prend en compte des données de son temps pour modifier l'archétype livien⁷¹.

⁶⁹ La proximité des mots et des actions elles-mêmes entre les deux versions le montre clairement: cf. e.g. A. KLOTZ, *Der zweite punische Krieg bei Florus*, *RhM* 89 (1940), p. 117-118; E. SALOMONE GAGGIERO, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 153, n. 9.

⁷⁰ Il est clair qu'en ce qui concerne les causes profondes, Tite-Live incrimine lui aussi la perfidie punique et la rancœur d'Hannibal; ainsi que A. KLOTZ, *art. cit.* (n. 69), p. 118, le remarque, il s'agit seulement pour Florus de rendre la responsabilité des Carthaginois plus nette encore. — En I 7.6, Florus modifiait pareillement la tradition livienne (Liv. V 36.6; *Per.* V 10; *DVI* 23.6) pour rendre les Gaulois Sénonis, et non les Romains, responsables de la guerre.

⁷¹ E.g. F. GIORDANO, *art. cit.* (n. 8), p. 119-125, pour le récit de l'avènement de Tarquin l'Ancien; aussi W. DEN BOER, *op. cit.* (n. 55), p. 6-14 et *passim*; E. SALOMONE GAGGIERO, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 40-42. On restera cependant prudent, d'une façon générale,

Le dernier thème que nous souhaitons étudier, celui de la dénonciation des guerres civiles, nous permettra d'approfondir le procédé de l'altération et de préciser celui de l'écho, en mettant en évidence des phénomènes de citations intra- ou extra-contextuelles⁷².

2.3. *Dénonciation de l'horreur des guerres civiles*

2.3.1. Altérations

Lors de la guerre contre les Teutons, Marius, pour stimuler ses hommes qui se plaignent d'être assoiffés, les exhorte à se désaltérer où ils le peuvent, c'est-à-dire à un cours d'eau voisin du camp ennemi. Cette eau renforce singulièrement la combattivité des légionnaires, puisque ceux-ci boiront le sang de leurs ennemis [12]:

Nam flagitante aquam exercitu, «si uiri», inquit, «estis, en, illic habetis». Itaque tanto ardore pugnatum est eaque caedes hostium fuit, ut uictor Romanus de cruento flumine non plus aquae biberit quam sanguinis barbarorum

Comme l'armée, en effet, réclamait de l'eau: «Si vous êtes des hommes, dit-il, tenez, vous en avez là-bas!» Aussi, si grande fut l'ardeur des combattants et tel, le massacre des ennemis, que le Romain victorieux but moins d'eau dans le fleuve ensanglanté que de sang barbare.

Chez Plutarque, le motif du sang est aussi rapproché de celui de l'eau, mais l'effet produit est tout différent:

Πολλῶν γέ τοι δυσχεραινόντων καὶ διψήσεων λεγόντων, δείξας τῇ χειρὶ ποταμόν τινα ῥέοντα πλησίον τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ χάρακος, ἐκεῖθεν αὐτοῖς ἔφησεν εἶναι ποτὸν ὄνιον αἵματος. «Τί οὖν» ἔφασαν «οὐκ εὐθὺς ἡμᾶς ἄγεις ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἕως ὕγρὸν τὸ αἷμα ἔχομεν;» Κἀκεῖνος ἡμέρα τῇ φωνῇ, «πρότερον» εἶπεν «ὄχυρὸν τέον ἡμῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον»

Comme beaucoup d'entre eux murmuraient et disaient qu'ils mourraient de soif, il leur montra du doigt une rivière qui coulait le long du camp des barbares et leur dit qu'ils trouveraient là de l'eau à acheter

sur l'origine de ces distorsions: certaines autres peuvent être dues à une source de Florus que nous ignorons (L. BESSONE, *art. cit.* [n. 41]) ou à des préoccupations compositionnelles de l'historien et à son désir de valoriser tel ou tel personnage (Octavien notamment) pour des raisons internes à l'œuvre (L. BESSONE, *op. cit.* [n. 8], p. 73-76).

⁷² Ce motif historiographique a déjà été étudié chez d'autres historiens: cf. e.g. J. GINSBURG, *art. cit.* (n. 5), à propos de Tacite (deux discours se renvoyant l'un à l'autre sur un plan intra-contextuel et à Salluste sur un plan extra-contextuel).

au prix de leur sang. «Pourquoi donc, répliquèrent-ils, ne nous conduis-tu pas contre eux tout de suite, alors que notre sang n'est pas encore desséché dans nos veines?» Alors Marius, d'un ton calme: «Nous devons d'abord, dit-il, fortifier notre camp».

On ne peut dire si Florus dérive directement de Plutarque ou si les deux auteurs exploitent une source commune⁷³, mais l'utilisation couplée des motifs du sang et de l'eau, rationnelle chez le natif de Chéronée, devient pour Florus le prélude à un tableau baroque qui satisfait son goût pour le spectaculaire et le sanglant⁷⁴. Cette transformation n'a pas seulement un but esthétique: le calme de Marius, qui exige chez Plutarque qu'on bâtit patiemment le camp, se mue en une sorte de frénésie chez Florus. La suppression de la fin du dialogue élimine la modération du Marius des *Vies parallèles* et fait indirectement ressortir son côté sanguinaire, qui se déploiera pleinement dans le livre II de l'*Épitomé*, consacré aux guerres civiles (II 9.1-17).

Ce même phénomène d'altération peut aussi concerner, non plus le *contenu* du discours lui-même, mais son *contexte*. C'est ce qui se passe avec deux consignes de César à Pharsale [17]. Le futur vainqueur engage en effet ses hommes à frapper les ennemis au visage (*Miles, faciem feri!*) [17a] et à épargner leurs concitoyens (*Parce ciuibus!*) [17b]. La tradition philo-césarienne tait volontiers le premier mot d'ordre, la tradition anti-césarienne, le second. Quant aux historiens les plus neutres, ils expliquent ces deux consignes par une motivation d'ordre exclusivement tactique: d'une part, il convient de viser les cavaliers pompéiens au visage pour les déstabiliser ou pour leur faire craindre d'être défigurés; d'autre part, il importe d'épargner les *ciues* pour se concilier, dans un avenir immédiat, les bonnes grâces des vaincus. Florus, lui, livre une version plus défavorable à César: le *faciem feri* traduit surtout la cruauté (*uox cruenta*) de ce dernier, qui aspire au plus grand massacre possible; quant au *parce ciuibus*, il n'est plus même appelé à se traduire dans les faits, puisqu'il est n'est là que pour la galerie (*ad iactationem*). Ainsi, l'historien n'altère pas le discours direct en lui-même, mais le contexte qui l'entoure: il déforme dès lors subtilement une réalité historique sans toucher au contenu du discours à proprement parler, ce qui est d'autant plus aisé que ce dernier est plus bref, donc moins explicite.

⁷³ L. BESSONE, *op. cit.* [n. 8], p. 212 et n. 3, songe plutôt (du moins pour le conflit César/Pompée) à une source (livienne) commune.

⁷⁴ Cette tendance de Florus a été repérée et analysée par la plupart des commentateurs: cf. la synthèse de L. BESSONE, *op. cit.* [n. 8], p. 54-70.

2.3.2. Citations intra et extra-contextuelles

Dans la tonalité générale des deux consignes que nous venons d'étudier, Florus suit peut-être Lucain⁷⁵, mais il construit aussi lui-même un subtil effet de citation intra-contextuelle qui déprécie encore un peu plus César. Le second mot d'ordre (*parce ciuibus*) semble en effet faire écho à la consigne — tout à fait apocryphe, celle-ci⁷⁶ — d'Hannibal après la bataille de Cannes: *parce ferro!* [8]. César se conforme ainsi à un sombre constat de Florus, relevant que les Romains se sont mis, à partir de la deuxième guerre punique, à imiter Hannibal⁷⁷. Mais à bien y réfléchir, la situation est plus grave encore: l'ordre du Barcide visait à être appliqué dans la réalité, alors que celui de César est présenté comme tout à fait virtuel et dépourvu d'effets concrets. En apparence donc, César améliore l'instruction d'Hannibal (ne vaut-il pas mieux épargner des *ciues* qu'un *ferrum*?); en réalité, il fait pire (il ordonne un carnage).

Dans le dernier exemple que nous étudierons, le phénomène de citation est extra-contextuelle, c'est-à-dire qu'il ne se réfère pas directement à un passage de l'*Epitomé*. Le sentiment synthétisé par le *Quo usque?* qui assaille les esprits des soldats lors de la bataille de Munda [19] n'a pas uniquement la fonction dramatique que remplissent souvent ces discours directs prêtés à une masse⁷⁸. Évoquant le si fameux exorde de la première *Catilinaire*, connu de chaque lecteur, il établit surtout un nouveau lien entre la conjuration de 63 et le cycle des guerres civiles, le second étant inéluctablement lié à la première, dans la vision de Florus⁷⁹.

⁷⁵ Malgré les réserves de O. ROSSBACH, *art. cit.* (n. 7), col. 2765-2766 (se fondant notamment sur l'écart entre la brièveté de [16] chez Florus et sa longueur chez Lucain), ou de R. PICHON, *Les Sources de Lucain*, Paris 1912, p. 69-81, l'influence de Lucain sur Florus nous paraît évidente dans le récit de la guerre civile: cf. e.g. O. JAHN, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. XLVII-XLVIII; E. WESTERBURG, *Lucan, Florus und Pseudo-Victor*, *RhM* 37 (1882), p. 35-49; V.-J. HERRERO-LLORENTE, *Lucano en la literatura hispanolatina*, *Emerita* 27 (1959), p. 29-34; A. GARZETTI, *art. cit.* (n. 12), p. 146, n. 41; E. SALOMONE GAGGIERO, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 55-56; L. BESSONE, *art. cit.* (n. 12), p. 52-53 et n. 80; ID., *art. cit.* (n. 8), p. 111-112.

⁷⁶ Cf. déjà N. E. LEMAIRE, *op. cit.* [n. 24], p. 157.

⁷⁷ Flor. I 22.55; sur ce thème de l'*imitatio Hannibalis*, cf. G. BRIZZI, *art. cit.* (n. 8). — Par ailleurs, le *parce ferro* d'Hannibal reprend peut-être le *numquam temerando parcere ferro* de Luc., *Phar.* I 147, à propos du bellicisme de César, ce qui rendrait plus profond encore le jeu de citations que nous analysons ici.

⁷⁸ Ce rôle des discours anonymes a été étudié, pour Tacite, par É. AUBRION, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 494-499. Ici, il s'agirait de refléter l'angoisse qui étreint les soldats en plein cœur de la mêlée.

⁷⁹ Sur cet aspect de la composition de l'ouvrage et de la conception de l'histoire romaine de Florus, cf. P. JAL, *art. cit.* (n. 57).

Dans ce cas précis, le style direct permet de maintenir de façon brève et économique l'unité entre le réquisitoire de Cicéron et les pensées intimes des soldats.

* * *

Concluons. L'usage du discours direct par Florus, dans le choix des citations qu'il opère, comme dans certaines modifications auxquelles il procède, reflète ses goûts esthétiques les plus saillants: recherche de la *breuitas* et de l'emphase spectaculaire, attention portée à la prosodie et aux figures de style. En cela, notre historien, comme la plupart de ses homologues, désire maintenir une unité entre le ton du discours et celui du récit.

Mais le discours direct n'est pas réductible à une fonction ornementale: loin de relever de la pédagogie et de retranscrire servilement la vulgate reçue jusqu'alors, il reflète dans une parole individuelle la *Weltanschauung* propre à l'historien. Les thèmes essentiels de l'œuvre — la *fortuna*, la *uirtus* et le *populus Romanus* — imprègnent en effet tous ces discours, qui, au lieu de viser à une polyphonie faisant entendre une pluralité de points de vue, sont romanocentrés et s'inscrivent dans le dessein idéologique global de l'historien: exalter le *populus Romanus*, promouvoir le pacifisme en politique extérieure et dénoncer l'horreur des guerres civiles. À cette fin, Florus mobilise différents procédés historiographiques bien identifiables, dont les principaux sont le pastiche, l'écho, l'altération des sources et la citation.

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ANNEXE: LES DISCOURS DIRECTS DANS L'ŒUVRE DE FLORUS⁸⁰

	Réf.	Locuteur	Destinataire	Circonstance	Contenu du discours	Autres sources
1	I 1.4 = <i>vulg.</i> , I 5.4	Dialogue entre Tarquin l'Ancien et Névius		Névius s'oppose à ce que Tarquin augmente le nombre de tribus. Le roi met alors le devin à l'épreuve.	« <i>Atquin hoc</i> », <i>inquit</i> , « <i>agitaram, an cotem illam secare nouacula possem</i> »; <i>et augur «potes ergo»</i> , <i>inquit, et secuit</i> .	Cic., <i>Diu.</i> I 32; Liv. I 36.2-4; Dion. Hal., <i>AR</i> III 71.1-4; (<i>DVI</i> 6.7)
2	I 4.6	Mucius Scévola	Porsenna	Mucius, fait prisonnier, est conduit sous la tente de Porsenna.	« <i>En, ut scias</i> », <i>inquit</i> , « <i>quem uirum effugeris; idem trecenti iurauimus</i> ».	Liv. II 12.9-16; V. Max. III 3.1; Plut., <i>Publ.</i> 17.4-6; <i>DVI</i> 12.5
3	I 7.17	Gaulois	Romains	Les Gaulois quittent Rome contre une rançon iniquement perçue.	<i>cum ... «Vae uictis» ... increparent.</i>	Liv. V 48.9
4	I 13.5	Tarentins	Romains	Les Tarentins reçoivent une ambassade romaine venue protester contre leur attitude.	<i>Sine discrimine insultant. «Qui enim aut unde Romani?»</i>	
5	I 13.18	Pyrrhus	Indéterminé	Pyrrhus est impressionné par le courage des Romains à Héraclée.	<i>Quod adeo Pyrrhus miratus est ut diceret «O quam facile erat orbis imperium occupare, aut mihi Romanis militibus, aut me rege Romanis».</i>	<i>DVI</i> 35.4; Eutrop. II 11.3
6	I 13.19	Pyrrhus	Indéterminé	Après Héraclée, une nouvelle armée romaine est mise sur pieds à la hâte.	« <i>Video me</i> », <i>inquit</i> , « <i>plane procreatum Herculis semine, cui quasi ab angue Lernaeo tot caesa hostium capita quasi de sanguine suo renascuntur</i> ».	Plut., <i>Pyrrh.</i> 19.7; App., <i>Samn.</i> , fr. 10.8; D.C. IX 40.28; <i>DVI</i> 35.7
7	I 22.7	Dialogue entre Fabius et le Sénat carthaginois		Fabius est envoyé en ambassade auprès du Sénat carthaginois après la prise de Sagonte.	<i>Tergiuersantibus Poenis, dux legationis «Quae», inquit, «mora est?» Fabius «in hoc ego sinu bellum pacemque porto; utrum eligitis?» subclamantibus «bellum», «bellum igitur», inquit, «accipite».</i>	Liv. XXI 18.13-14; App., <i>Ib.</i> III 13.48-50

⁸⁰ Nous indiquons, en gras, les passages qui comportent aussi un discours direct; en maigre, ceux qui sont au discours indirect; entre parenthèses, ceux qui se présentent sous la forme d'un discours narrativisé.

	Réf.	Locuteur	Destinataire	Circonstance	Contenu du discours	Autres sources
8	I 22.17	Hannibal	Ses hommes	Ordre d'Hannibal après Cannes.	« <i>Parce ferro</i> ».	
9	I 22.53	Hannibal	Indéterminé	Les Romains ont jeté la tête d'Hasdrubal, vaincu au Métaure, dans le camp d'Hannibal.	« <i>agnosco</i> », <i>inquit</i> , « <i>infelicitatem Carthaginis</i> ».	Liv. XXVII 51.12; <i>DVI</i> 48.4
10	I 31.8	Habitants de Carthage	Eux-mêmes	Scipion Émilien ordonne aux Carthaginois de quitter leur territoire.	« <i>Ad arma!</i> »	
11	I 35.2	Attale	Romains	Attale laisse un testament léguant ses biens au peuple romain.	<i>Attalus, rex Pergamenorum, regis Eumenis filius, socii quondam commilitonisque nostri, testamentum reliquit: «Populus Romanus bonorum meorum heres esto. In bonis regis haec fuerunt»</i> ⁸¹ .	OGI 338 ; (Liv., <i>Per.</i> LVIII 4); (Vell. Pat. II 4.1); (V. Max. V 2.3); (Eutrop. IV 18); (Justin, XXXVI 4.5)
12	I 38.9	Marius	Ses hommes	Marius pousse ses soldats assoiffés à boire à un cours d'eau proche du camp teuton.	<i>Nam flagitante aquam exercitu, «Si uiri», inquit, «estis, en, illic habetis».</i>	Plut., Mar. 18.6-8 ; Oros., <i>Hist.</i> V 16.10
13	I 38.20	<i>Rumor</i>	—	La foule a cru voir les Dioscures, lors de la guerre contre les Cimbres.	<i>frequensque in spectaculo rumor «Victoriae Cimbricae feliciter!»</i> ⁸² <i>dixit.</i>	
14	I 45.11	Dialogue entre Arioviste et des députés romains		Les députés romains engagent Arioviste à se rendre auprès de César.	<i>Cui cum legati dicerent «ueni ad Caesarem» et «quis est Caesar» et «si uult, ueniat» inquit, et «quid ad illum, quid agat nostra Germania? Num ego me interpono Romanis?»</i>	Caes., <i>Gall.</i> I 34.2-4
15	I 45.26	Vercingétorix	César	Vercingétorix se rend à César après Alésia.	« <i>Habe</i> » ⁸³ , <i>inquit</i> , « <i>fortem uirum, uir fortissime, uicisti</i> ».	

⁸¹ Plusieurs savants font de la seconde phrase, débutant par *In bonis...*, un élément du récit du narrateur, et non plus de la lettre d'Attale: cf. *supra* (n. 59).

⁸² N.E. LEMAIRE, *op. cit.* (n. 24), p. 214, à la suite de plusieurs érudits antérieurs, juge que *uictoriae Cimbricae* est un génitif portant sur *rumor*, et que ces mots ne font donc pas partie du discours direct; O. JAHN, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 57, O. ROSSBACH, *op. cit.* (n. 7), suivi par E. S. FORSTER, *op. cit.* (n. 36), *ad loc.*, suppose une lacune entre *Cimbricae* et *feliciter* (*contra*, avec de bons arguments, E. MALCOVATI, *Studi su Floro (III)*, *Athenaeum* 16 [1938], p. 60-61); P. HAINSELIN & H. WATELET, *op. cit.* (n. 61), p. 593, n. 417, pensent que les mots *Cimbricae uictoriae* sont une glose.

⁸³ D'autres lisent: *habes* ou *habet*.

	Réf.	Locuteur	Destinataire	Circonstance	Contenu du discours	Autres sources
16	II 13.37	César	Marin anonyme	À Oricum, César reconnaît les lieux sur une barque.	<i>Exstat ad trepidum tanto discrimine gubernatorem uox ipsius: «Quid times? Caesarem uehis».</i>	Luc., <i>Phar.</i> V 578-593; Plut., <i>Caes.</i> 38.5; App., <i>Ciu.</i> II 57.236; D.C. XLI 46.3
17	II 13.50	César (<i>bis</i>)	Ses soldats	Mots d'ordre de César à ses soldats lors de la bataille de Pharsale.	<i>Voces quoque obequitantis acceptae,</i> a. <i>altera cruenta, sed docta et ad uictoriam efficax</i> <i>«Miles, faciem feri»,</i> b. <i>altera ad iactationem composita</i> <i>«Parce ciuibus!»</i> ⁸⁴	a. Luc., <i>Phar.</i> VII 322; Plut., <i>Pomp.</i> 69.4-5; (<i>Caes.</i> 45.2-3); App., <i>Ciu.</i> II 76.318; Front., <i>Strat.</i> IV 7.32; Polyæn. VIII 23.25 b. Caes., <i>Ciu.</i> III 90.2; Luc., <i>Phar.</i> VII 318-319; Suet., <i>Caes.</i> 75.5; App., <i>Ciu.</i> II 74.309; II 80.336; Polyæn. VIII 23.29
18	II 13.68	Scipion	Un soldat	Scipion se donne la mort après la défaite de Thapsus.	<i>Sed adsecutis hostibus gladium per uiscera exegit et, ubi esset quodam requirente, respondit hoc ipsum «Bene se habet imperator».</i>	Liv., <i>Per.</i> CXIV 6; V. Max. III 2.13; Sen., <i>Ep.</i>, 24.9
19	II. 13.80	Soldats	Eux-mêmes	À Munda, au milieu de la mêlée, le silence fond brusquement sur les soldats qui semblent s'interroger.	<i>quasi conuenisset et hic omnium sensus esset: «Quo usque?»</i> ⁸⁵	
20	II 17.8	Génie	Brutus	À la veille de Philippes, un songe effrayant vient troubler le sommeil de Brutus.	<i>Ipsique Bruto per noctem, cum inlato lumine ex more aliqua secum agitare, atra quaedam imago se optulit et, quae esset interrogata, «Tuus», inquit, «malus Genius», ac sub oculis mirantis euanuit.</i>	Plut., <i>Brut.</i> 36.5-12; App., <i>Ciu.</i> IV 134.565

⁸⁴ L'auteur des *Scholia Bernensia* cite le passage de Florus en écrivant *parce fugienti*, mais c'est sans doute par analogie avec Lucaïn (cf. G. H. GOEBEL, *Rhetorical and Poetical Thinking in Lucan's Harangues* (7.250-382), *TAPhA* 111 [1981], p. 89-90).

⁸⁵ P. HAINSELIN & H. WATELET, *op. cit.* (n. 61), p. 599-600, n. 480, y voyant une glose, suppriment le passage commençant à *et hic omnium...*

	Réf.	Locuteur	Destinataire	Circonstance	Contenu du discours	Autres sources
21	II 18.4	Sextus Pompée	Antoine	À la paix de Misènes, Sextus Pompée invite ses hôtes à monter à bord.	<i>Cumque inuitante ipso in nauem discubitus est, et ille sortem suam increpitans «Hae sunt», inquit, «carinae meae».</i>	Vell. Pat. II 77.1; Plut., Ant. 32.4; D.C. XLVIII 38.2-3; DVI 84.3
22	II 20.7	Un Parthe	Romains	Les Romains repoussent les flèches parthes en formant la tortue.	<i>Dein rursus cum se Romani extulissent, adeo res miraculo fuit, ut unus ex barbaris miserit uocem: «Ite et bene ualete, Romani! Merito uos uictores fama gentium loquitur, qui Parthorum tela fugistis».</i>	
23	II 26.14-15	Un chef mésien	Romains	Un chef mésien, arrogant et ignorant, demande aux Romains qui ils sont.	<i>Vnus ducum ante aciem postulato silentio: «Qui uos estis?» inquit, responsum inuicem: «Romani gentium domini». Et ille «ita», inquit, «fiet, si nos uiceritis».</i>	
24	II 30.37	Un Germain	Un avocat	Après le désastre de Varus, un Germain a arraché la langue à un patronus.	<i>Aliis oculos, aliis manus amputabant, unius os sutum, recisa prius lingua, quam in manu tenens barbarus «Tandem», ait, «uipera, sibilare desisti».</i>	